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A
NARRATIVE,
&c.

LONDON:
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A

NARRATIVE

OF

LORD BYRON'S

LAST JOURNEY TO GREECE.

EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF

COUNT PETER GAMBA,

WHO ATTENDED HIS LORDSHIP ON THAT EXPEDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1825.

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TO

JOHN C. HOBHOUSE, Esq. M.P.

My dear Sir,

I do myself the honour of dedicating this book to you. It contains a brief account of Lord Byron's last journey, which he undertook for the purpose of assisting in the liberation of Greece. It appears to me that this narrative in every way belongs to you. You are Lord Byron's oldest and dearest friend; you were the companion of his Lordship's early travels, when he first visited Greece; when the contrast between its past glory and present degradation awakened his genius, and lit up in his breast an intense love for that sacred and unhappy country which endured to the last moment of his life.

I accompanied his Lordship in the expedition which terminated his existence. I conducted the greater part of his public business, every circumstance of which was communicated to me. I kept a diary, containing a minute account of all the events of the day. Every fact which I narrate may, therefore, be received as authentic. My only object is to give a simple narrative of what Lord Byron did in Greece; of the connexions he had there; and the influence he enjoyed. I shall state the benefits afforded by him to that country; benefits which would have become greater and more permanent, if pitiless death, which always seizes on the noblest prey, had not prematurely bereft us of him.

The glorious events which have assured, as it now appears, the liberty of Greece, have confirmed Lord Byron's anticipations, and have shown that his hopes were as well founded as his designs were nobly conceived. But the Greek people have not forgotten their benefactor in the day of their triumph—they have a profound sense of the obligations they owe to him, and their gratitude will endure as long as they have a name amongst the nations of the earth.

I am aware that many of the events which I record may appear insignificant—and they would be so under other circumstances:—yet I trust it is not to Englishmen, and I am sure it is not to you, that I need offer an apology for being too minute in any details connected with the name of Byron and the cause of Greece.

Next to the satisfaction I receive from the conviction of having fulfilled my duty towards the memory of Lord Byron, my best reward will be the approbation of his Lordship's friends, among whom the first rank must be assigned to you.

With the truest esteem,
I am, my dear Sir,
Your faithful, humble servant,

PIETRO GAMBA.

London, January 13, 1825.

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A NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Byron's departure from Genoa—His voyage to Cefalonia—His tour in Ithaca—His residence at Metaxata.

There are few either in the Old or the New World, whithersoever the light of civilization extends, who have not proclaimed themselves friendly to the regeneration of Greece. People of all nations, parties and sects the most opposed to each other, whether in politics or religion, have apparently always been unanimous in the wish of seeing that country liberated from the dominion of the Turks. Who would renounce the name of Christian, and incur the appellation of barbarian?—It would be useless and tedious to state the well-known causes which have contributed to awaken an interest so general, and to enlarge upon the influence which they might have had on the determination of Lord Byron to proceed to Greece.

If, as there are many who are fond of making vows for the liberation of Greece, a crusade had been planned in her favour, and the obstacles to be encountered had appeared trivial, Lord Byron would never have joined in the undertaking: he was not one to follow the crowd, or to engage in enterprises free from danger.

Doubtless, he bewailed the calamities of Greece, and none could have more earnestly desired her liberation from that shameful yoke which has reduced her to a state so degraded and deplorable. But such a wish might not have led, but for particular reasons, to any ulterior determination.

Lord Byron had once intended fixing his residence in Italy, but the political state of that country gave rise to feelings of disgust. He likewise had some thoughts of going to the United States of America, where he was known and esteemed;—I once saw him nearly on the point of departure.

He often felt the want of some other occupation than that of writing; and frequently said, that the public must be tired of his compositions, and that he was certainly more so.

Towards the end of February, 1823, he turned his thoughts towards Greece. No one could accuse him of being a blind enthusiast. In his travels during his younger days, he had imbibed a greater personal esteem for the character of the Turks than for that of their slaves. He may have persuaded himself that his personal endeavours and his pecuniary resources might possibly contribute to the liberation of Greece. No undertaking could interest him more strongly; the object, the scene, the danger, were powerful incentives.

It appeared that no Christian power was likely to take part in the struggle of the Greeks. Most of the Europeans who went to their assistance had either perished, or, discontented, had abandoned them. It was generally believed, that a powerful expedition was preparing on the part of the Turks; the eyes of all Europe were then turned not towards the East, but the West.

Spain alone occupied the public attention. Such a state of things would have made others desist: it stimulated Lord Byron.

In the mean time, he received a letter from his friend Mr. Hobhouse, informing him of the interest that the English were beginning to take in favour of the Greeks; that a committee had been formed, many of whom were his friends; that Mr. Blaquiere had been sent into Greece to learn more exactly the state of affairs, and that he would touch at Genoa, to communicate with his Lordship. In the middle of April, Mr. Blaquiere arrived in company with Mr. Luriotti, afterwards Greek deputy in London.

They begged his Lordship to concur with his other friends: he replied, that he was fully disposed so to do, and to assist the cause not only with his means, but personally, if the Greeks would accept of his services, and if his going to Greece would be of any advantage to that country.

He then decided on as early a departure as possible. Mr. Blaquiere was to send information, and we were to be ready on the receipt of his letters.

I undertook the preparations. A physician acquainted with surgery was requisite, but a known and skilful one was difficult to be found in Genoa. I wrote to Leghorn and Pisa, but the time was too short. The celebrated Vacca, to whom I applied, answered, that if he had known of it earlier, he would have found some one of his pupils for the purpose. "If," said he, "I had not a family, and so many ties that bind me to the spot, I myself would most willingly accompany you." Doctor Alexander, formerly a surgeon in the English service, and his Lordship's physician at Genoa, recommended Doctor Bruno, who had just left the university with considerable reputation: he was engaged.

On the 1st of May, two unfortunate Germans came to ask charity of his Lordship. They had quitted Greece after the defeat of the European corps at Peta, and were reduced to the utmost want. They had landed at Ancona, whence, exposed to every privation, begging their bread, and sleeping in the open air, they set out for their own country, and arrived at Genoa, still having a thousand miles to go. Their situation was most pitiable: his Lordship relieved them.

Their accounts of Greece were certainly not encouraging; but, far from cooling his ardour, they made him more resolved to proceed: it is useless to repeat, that opposition and the prospect of the greatest dangers were to him the most alluring excitements.

The newspapers now announced that the Greeks had settled their dissensions, established a regular government, and stood prepared for a most vigorous defence. This favourable news had the contrary effect: "What need," said he, "have they of the assistance of a stranger?"

At the same time he became impatient, and feared lest he should arrive too late. At the end of May, a letter was received from Mr. Blaquiere from Zante. He likewise sent the most favourable intelligence, and begged his Lordship to hasten his departure, for he was expected with the greatest anxiety, and could be of infinite service. Mr. Blaquiere was then about to proceed to the seat of government, whence he promised to write. He advised Lord

Byron to direct his course to Zante, where he would find letters containing every information, and that he himself would await his arrival in the Morea.

The preparations for our departure were hastened.

An English brig, the Hercules, Captain Scott, was freighted. Mr. Trelawny arrived from Florence by his Lordship's invitation: he waited till the middle of July for other letters from Mr. Blaquiere from the Morea—none arrived. He would now no longer delay his departure.

On the 13th of July we were aboard: Captain Trelawny, the physician, eight domestics, and myself, formed his suite. Lord Byron had likewise given a passage to a Greek named Schilitzy, of Constantinople, coming from Russia. We had five horses aboard, arms and ammunition for our own use, two one-pounders, belonging to his schooner the Bolivar, which he left at Genoa. The uncertainty of the course he was about to pursue, and the information he had received from various quarters, induced him to carry his supplies in specie. He had ten thousand Spanish dollars, in ready money, and bills of exchange for forty thousand more. There were, likewise, some chests of medicine sufficient for a thousand men for a year.

At ten o'clock in the morning every thing was in readiness. There was no wind. He went with Mr. Barry, his banker, and Mr. Trelawny, to the Lomellina, one of the most beautiful villas in the environs of Genoa, about six miles from the city, on the shore, to the west. Lord Byron dined with us there, under a tree, on cheese and fruit. We slept aboard, and were able to clear the port about sunrise. We remained in sight of Genoa during the whole day. The weather was delightful, the sun scorching, and the wind light. We enjoyed the sight of the magnificent amphitheatre which Genoa presents to the view at some distance from land. Towards midnight a strong westerly wind arose; we made head against it for three or four hours, but in the end the captain was obliged to steer back to the port of Genoa. The horses, unaccustomed to the sea, and badly accommodated, caused us serious inconvenience. They broke down their divisions, and kicked each other. We re-entered the port at six in the morning. Lord Byron passed nearly the whole night on deck. Those of his suite who were not affected with seasickness assisted him in his endeavours to prevent greater mischief amongst the horses. He did not feel himself unwell till towards morning, when we entered the port. I was half dead with sickness the whole night. When able to rise, he said to me, "You have lost one of the most magnificent sights I ever beheld. For a short "time we were in serious danger; but the "captain and his crew did wonders. I "was the whole time on deck. The sight "is not new to me, but I have always "looked upon a storm as one of the sublimest spectacles in nature." He appeared thoughtful, and remarked, that he considered a bad beginning a favourable omen.

The whole day was spent in repairing damages. His Lordship wishing to visit his palace at Albaro, which he had left in the care of his banker, I accompanied him. His conversation was somewhat melancholy on our way to Albaro: he spoke much of his past life, and of the uncertainty of the future. "Where," said he, "shall we be in a year?" It looked like a melancholy foreboding; for on the same day of the same month, in the next year, he was carried to the tomb of his ancestors. He expressed a wish to retire for three or four hours. He dined alone, on cheese and figs, returned to the city towards four o'clock, took a warm bath, and again went on board. In the evening we set sail, and a passage of five days carried us to Leghorn.

On our arrival there we received a salute of thirteen guns, from an Ionian vessel, commanded by a Signior V——, to whom Lord Byron had promised a passage. He immediately came aboard our vessel, accompanied by some Greek patriotic merchants, who called themselves his intimate friends. When we landed, these very same persons began to accuse Sig. V. with being a desperado and impostor, capable of selling us to the Turks.

Many reasons induced us to touch at Leghorn: we expected to procure information and letters from the venerable Archbishop Ignazio, residing at Pisa. His Lordship had to settle some affairs with Mr. Webb. It was necessary to take a supply of gunpowder, and other English goods, not to be found elsewhere; and, in fine, to take aboard Sig. V. and a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Hamilton Browne, whom he only knew by letter.

We remained two days in port. Lord Byron was generally aboard. We heard little news not already known. The principal Greek chiefs were assembled in Congress, in order to form a new government, to settle some disagreements of a trifling nature, and to concert a general plan of defence. No great efforts were expected on the part of the Turks during this campaign.

The venerable Ignazio, Archbishop of Arta, a warm patriot, sent us from Pisa, by his secretary, several letters of introduction to the principal Greek chiefs, and to the government. He thanked his Lordship, in the name of his nation, for his generous undertaking, and trusted that his assistance, his counsels, and his example, would prove of benefit to his country. He recommended him particularly to Prince Mavrocordato and to the brave Marco Botzari.

We sailed from Leghorn on the 23d of July, with a favourable wind and delightful weather. We coasted the Isle of Elba. At Leghorn Lord Byron had received the first volume of Las Casas' Memoirs: it is not difficult to conceive upon what our conversation turned for some time. Lord Byron took great interest in every thing relating to Napoleon. No one better understood the character and genius of that extraordinary man.

We sailed near Stromboli in a clear night; but Lord Byron, who had never seen a volcano, had not the good fortune to witness an eruption. Some lights were occasionally seen on the side of the mountain, which, willing to believe volcanic at first, we were forced to acknowledge proceeded from some houses.

It was our intention to touch at Messina, but on entering the straits a brisk and favourable wind got up; and Lord Byron, eager to arrive at the Ionian Islands, was unwilling to lose a moment.

Leaving the straits behind, we enjoyed a magnificent sight of Mount Etna, then covered by a thick cloud of smoke.

On the 2d of August we arrived between Zante and Cephalonia. The wind drove us off Zante—notwithstanding this we endeavoured to make for Cephalonia, but did not gain it till the following morning. His Lordship preferred landing there on account of the known liberal feelings of the Commandant.

Nothing happened during our voyage. Lord Byron enjoyed excellent health, and was always in good spirits. He was generally on deck; and, as he never undressed to lie down, he often rose at night. He took his meals on deck. Fruit, cheese, and vegetables, as long as they kept fresh, formed his diet. He both read and conversed much. We were all cheerful; the presence of the Ionian adventurer alone gave us cause for uneasiness. The old Captain Scott, a plain honest sailor, frequently amused Lord Byron with his quaint observations.

On the morning of the 3d of August we cast anchor in Argostoli, the principal port of Cephalonia.

It is to be remarked, that Lord Byron went to the Ionian Islands strongly prejudiced against Sir Thomas Maitland and his government, which he looked upon as hostile to the Greek cause, notwithstanding that the favourable change which had taken place in the sentiments of the English cabinet was likely to produce a similar one in those of the Ionian government. Doubtless his arrival in the Ionian Islands, upon such an expedition, could not but be embarrassing equally to the governors and to him. For these reasons he resolved on a line of conduct incapable of exciting suspicion.

The resident, Colonel Napier, was absent from the island. He had accompanied General Adam and Admiral Moore to a conference with the Captain Pacha concerning some infractions, on the part of the Turks, of the neutrality of the Ionian Islands.

The first intelligence concerning Greece came to us from the Captain of the port, a Cephalonian—a little truth, and a great deal of boasting and conceit. "The Greeks," said he, "now united, will not be attacked—nay, they will attack: the Turkish fleet is in these seas, but the Grecian fleet is daily expected, and will clear them of the former, and destroy it." Shortly after, Mr. Kennedy, the secretary of the government, came aboard, and gave a very different account. Little was known, he informed us, of the internal concerns of

Greece; both parties were indolent, a circumstance somewhat in favour of the Greeks, but yet it tended to foment discord, which was gaining ground. The Turks were in quiet possession of the sea, and the Greeks lay inactive in the ports of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara.

The officers of the eighth regiment, then in garrison, showed Lord Byron every civility, as did all the other English authorities of the island. His Lordship was sensible of their politeness, and accepted an invitation to dine at the regimental mess—not a trifling sacrifice to his Pythagorean habits. At the end of two days the Resident returned, and showed him every attention.

The information we received from Colonel Napier gave us little insight into the state of affairs in Greece. A great want of energy appeared on both sides, and an unfortunate tendency to intestine dissensions.

In the mean time it was reported that Mr. Blaquiere had returned to Corfu, and that the famous Marco Botzari, to whom we were particularly recommended, was at Missolonghi. Lord Byron, previous to any step, judged it prudent to despatch two messengers; one to Corfu, another to Missolonghi, to collect every possible information in the Morea.

Whilst waiting for answers, we took a journey across the Island of Cephalonia to Ithaca, leaving most of the servants, and every thing else, on board. The first day we reached St. Euphemia, one of the principal ports of the island on the side of Ithaca. An English magistrate, who resided there, politely offered us his hospitality. But notwithstanding a journey of six hours on mules, under a scorching sun, and over nearly impassable roads, Lord Byron was resolved to proceed on to Ithaca the same day. We crossed the narrow strait, between the two islands, in an open four-oared boat. The season, the time of day, and the beautiful views of the surrounding coasts, rendered our tour agreeable. Our boatmen landed us at Ithaca.

It was now near sunset: the town of Vathi was more than six miles distant, over a hilly road: we were eight in company, with some luggage, and rather fatigued: no house, no sign of a human being, was to be seen. Lord Byron proposed passing the night in some of the many caves on the coast. We refreshed ourselves with some ripe grapes which grew upon the hill. Romantic adventures were displeasing to none of us, but it was to be feared lest the night air might injure Lord Byron's health; for which reason, Mr. Hamilton Browne and myself ascended the hill, whilst the others were bathing. After an hour's walk, we discovered a house in a recess, surrounded by trees. A boy was standing before the door, who, from his appearance and dress, did not appear to be a peasant. Mr. Browne asked him, in Greek, if it were possible to find a guide to the town, and some mules? What was our agreeable surprise to hear an answer, in good Venetian, from a female within, that she would immediately call her husband, then in the field, and that we could certainly be provided with a mule and a servant. She then came out to us. Her appearance, though she was somewhat worn by years and domestic cares, was not unpleasing. Her husband had formerly been a merchant at Trieste: the house, and a small quantity of land, which they cultivated, remained to them after the wreck of their fortune. The husband appeared; and though ignorant who we were, not only offered us the mule and servant, but every hospitality his house could afford. The way to the town being long and steep, and no other mules to be found, we gladly accepted the kind offer; and, returning, we found Lord Byron just come out of the water: he refused the use of the mule, and walked up to the house, rather more than an hour distant.

Our good host, a warm patriot, and formerly a rich merchant, entertained us for some time with accounts of the prowess of the Greeks, rivalling, as he said, the glory of their ancestors. He told us, also, the story of the misfortunes which had brought him to that solitude. He spread before us some excellent grapes, of various sorts, besides other fruit, and wine. It was one of those delightfully cool nights which, in such climates, fully repay us for the heat of the day. On one side were two high mountains, on the other the declivity of the hill which led to the shore, where we had disembarked. On the summit of one of the mountains tradition places a castle, founded by Ulysses; and on the side a cave, where he deposited the presents of the Pheacians. Our host, who valued himself on his erudition, made us pay a trifle for his hospitality by obliging us to listen to his long antiquarian dissertations.

Lord Byron, who delighted more in the beauties of nature than in learned lore, remained out late, talking much of his former travels in Greece, and of the real happiness he felt amidst such magnificent scenery.

We all slept in a small room, in our cloaks; and in the morning Mr. Browne started early for Vathi, with a letter which Lord Byron had for the commandant, Captain Knox, who immediately sent his boat to the nearest shore, with mules, guides, &c. An officer, who commanded a detachment in Ithaca, came with Mr. Browne. Lord Byron ascended to the grotto, but the steepness and height prevented him from reaching the remains of the castle. I myself experienced considerable difficulty in gaining it. Lord Byron sat reading in the grotto, but fell asleep. I awoke him on my return, and he said that I had interrupted dreams more pleasing than ever he before had in his life. We arrived at Vathi in the afternoon. Captain Knox and his amiable lady showed us the most polite attention.

On the following day, Captain Knox accompanied us to the fountain of Arethusa, to which are attached many classical traditions: but we left them to the learned, and found the never-fading beauties of nature sufficiently attractive. We remained a few hours, and dined there. On other days, we visited other parts of the island, and particularly one part, where are some remains, which go by the name of the School of Homer. We there found a refugee, an old bishop, whom Lord Byron, ten years before, knew in Livadia. He took great delight in questioning him on the fate of those whom he remembered formerly in Greece. Names and circumstances were so fresh in his memory, that the good old bishop could with difficulty follow him. Some had distinguished themselves in the present revolution, others were dead, or sunk into calamity and distress.

The first opportunity of displaying his benevolent feelings towards the victims of barbarism and tyranny, in the present glorious struggle, occurred in Ithaca. Many poor families had fled there from Scio, Patras, and other parts of Greece. Lord Byron gave three thousand piastres to the commandant, for their relief; and he induced a family, once rich in Patras, but now reduced to the greatest misery, to pass over to Cephalonia, where he provided them with a house, and assigned them a monthly allowance.

In a few days we returned to Cephalonia. We called again on our good host, and, dining at St. Euphemia, we passed the night at Samo, in an old convent, on the summit of a mountain on the opposite side of the gulf. At five, on the following evening, we reached Argostoli, and went aboard the Hercules. We had been eight days absent, travelling generally from nine in the morning until four or five in the evening, and, in that season and climate, under a most scorching sun. Lord Byron never enjoyed better health or spirits; and we were persuaded that strong exercise, and even fatigue, contributed to the health of his mind and body.

After our return, a letter from London informed us that Lord Byron was appointed principal agent of the Greek Committee. The messenger returning from Corfu, brought news of Mr. Blaquiere's departure for England, without leaving any letters for his Lordship. Various rumours reached us of the affairs of the Peloponnesus; amongst the rest, that Mavrocordato was killed. We learned, however, afterwards, that he was only obliged to abandon the Morea, and quit public affairs. It was added, that Colocotroni was stronger than the government; and that the Greeks were more intent on persecuting and calumniating each other than on securing the independence of their country. Fortunately they were not seriously menaced from any quarter by the enemy. There was more to be feared from their own dissensions than from the Turks.

Lord Byron, always bent on proceeding, resolved on taking into pay forty Suliots then residing on the island. Their obstinate and determined defence of their native rocks, their noble resolution of preferring exile to slavery, had for some time disposed him in favour of that brave and unfortunate tribe. They were distinguished amongst the warriors of Roumelia for their courage and experience, and, above all, for their fidelity.

No sooner were his Lordship's intentions known, than they sent their chiefs, Gîavella, Draco, and Fotomara, offering their services. Two dollars and a half were allowed as pay by the Greek government, and frequently that was only nominal. Lord Byron agreed with them for four per man, and they were to serve as his body-guard.

On the 22d of August the messenger returned from Missolonghi with a letter from Botzari, whom he found in the mountains of Agrafa, at Carpenissi. He wrote in the following terms, under date the 18th August:

" Your letter, and that of the venerable Ignazio, have " filled me with joy. Your Excellency is exactly the " person of whom we stand in need. Let nothing pre- " vent you from coming into this part of Greece. The " enemy threatens us in great number; but, by the " help of God and your Excellency, they shall meet a " suitable resistance. I shall have something to do to- " night against a corps of six or seven thousand Al- " banians, encamped close to this place. The day after " to-morrow I will set out, with a few chosen companions, " to meet your Excellency. Do not delay. I thank " you for the good opinion you have of my fellow- " citizens, which God grant you will not find ill-founded; " and I thank you still more for the care you have so " kindly taken of them. Believe me," &c.

Such was the simple style in which the plain, honest, brave Marco Botzari wrote to Lord Byron. It was his last letter; for that very night he penetrated into the enemy's camp, of eight or ten thousand strong, with a hundred followers only; and having slaughtered a considerable number, gloriously fell, close to the tent of the Pacha himself*. When we heard of this calamity, we were informed, at the same time, that the affairs of the Peloponnesus were growing more desperate, and the dissensions were more and more embittered by the spirit of faction.

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* See note in Appendix.

Of the two patriots whom Lord Byron and Europe most esteemed, and to whom he was particularly recommended, one was no more, and the other was a refugee in an island.

This melancholy state of affairs neither deceived nor disheartened Lord Byron. Not a fanatic, not a blind enthusiast, he was prepared for the worst. But there was little good to be reaped from proceeding at present. To learn the real state of affairs, to become acquainted with the men concerned, and to be known to them, was the best method of acquiring an influence which he might afterwards employ in settling their internal discords.

It seemed to Lord Byron that it would be, moreover, difficult to convince the less civilized of the Greeks, who were then at the head of affairs, and naturally suspicious, of the purity and disinterestedness of his motives. It was generally believed that strangers were not well received by the Greeks. He certainly carried an excellent recommendation—money. But he might, on this very account, feel himself obliged to join one party or the other, against the dignity of his character, and against the interests of the cause which he wished to assist. "I come not here," he said, "to "join a faction, but a nation; and to act "with honest men—not speculators or pe-"culators, as the Greeks daily call each "other. I must be circumspect."

It was therefore resolved that Mr. Hamilton Browne, and Mr. Trelawny, should be the bearers of a letter to the government, communicating the intentions of the London Committee, and his own. He, in the mean time, would wait the answer of the government, and more impartial information from his friends and companions.

Those who have studied the character of Lord Byron in his writings will easily believe that prudence was not in the catalogue of his virtues. Lord Byron knew that this prejudice was entertained against him, and, therefore, feeling the necessity of such a virtue in his situation, no one could have more scrupulously endeavoured to attain it.

He carefully avoided every appearance of ostentation, and had a great dread of being taken for a searcher after adventures. By perseverance and discernment he hoped to assist in the liberation of Greece: to know and to be known was consequently, in the outset, his principal object.

Our forty Suliots had already given us serious trouble. I discovered that many of them were neither Suliots nor Greeks. The three captains—three captains amongst forty men!—claimed the pay of the rank which they held in their own country. The men accused them of keeping back their pay. In fine, they only agreed in putting in continually fresh claims. Lord Byron gave them two months' pay, got their arms from the government, and paid their passage to Missolonghi.

I must not omit the conduct of the Ionian bankers towards Lord Byron, which grieved him much. He had sent his letters of credit from one of the first houses of the Mediterranean, directed to Messrs. Cariddi and Corgialegno, two of the richest proprietors and merchants in the island. The former, either from fear of political consequences, or from incapability, replied, and perhaps truly, that he could not answer his bills. But the uncourteous manner was what offended Lord Byron. He neither came in person, nor sent an answer in writing, but a clerk with the refusal. M. Cariddi suffered afterwards, not only by the public contempt, but by the loss of much business with Messrs. Webb, which affected him, I should think, much more. M. Corgialegno was more courteous, but still betrayed a little of the Jew.

It was now the sixth of September. Hitherto Lord Byron had always remained aboard the Hercules, except in the evening, when he took his usual ride. The commandant, Colonel Napier, had frequently begged him to take up his quarters with him; but he would not live in the town. Amongst other reasons, he feared lest he might embroil the English authorities of the place with their government, whose dispositions were not yet known. We retired into a village named Metaxata, in a salubrious spot, and amidst magnificent scenery.

We remained a month in that village, without any letters from Messrs. Browne and Trelawny, but were not idle, nor without means of information. As soon as it was known that an English nobleman of great fame, and—what acted not less powerfully on the imagination of the Greeks—of great wealth—exaggerated, notwithstanding his efforts to undeceive them—was at Cephalonia, it is easier to conceive than to relate the various means employed to engage him in one faction or the other: letters, messengers, intrigues, and recriminations;—nay, each faction had its agents, exerting every art to degrade its opponent. The most disinterested patriotism, and every better feeling, was on the side of Lord Byron. He occupied himself in discovering the truth, hidden as it was under these intrigues, and amused himself in confronting the agents of the different factions.

Letters now arrived from Messrs. Browne and Trelawny. The state of affairs was not so desperate as reported. Power had certainly fallen into the hands of a faction without talent, and the views of its chiefs were circumscribed and selfish. Great indolence and a total disorganization prevailed. The mass of the nation, indeed, was well disposed, and was beginning to discover the incapacity and low views of the chiefs. A determination of never again submitting to the Turkish yoke had taken deep root. The resources of Greece, we learnt, were great; but consisting, for the greater part, in lands belonging to their tyrants, little profit could be derived from them at present: as to the succours of an individual, or of an association of individuals, they can at no time greatly assist the wants of a nation.

Messrs. Browne and Trelawny were, however, well received. The existing government invited his Lordship to set out without delay; and pressing letters of solicitation came, with those of Messrs. Browne and Trelawny, from the executive and legislative bodies. Lord Byron still deemed it prudent not to move; for the reasons which had at first induced him to remain at Cephalonia were now strengthened. Here his influence increased daily, and he could employ it more independently in raising the credit of any government which might be fairly called national: and what could Lord Byron do, then, if he proceeded at once to Greece, but throw away his money, to the profit of some individual, or, at best, of some faction?

Letters from the secretary of the Greek Committee now announced that arrangements had been made for the conclusion of the loan, in the event of the arrival of the deputies. Without a loan the nation could never avail itself of its resources, and every succeeding government would be possessed of less influence than the military chieftains.

The deputies already chosen remained at Hydra, inactive and irresolute. Internal dissensions, and the dangerous preponderance of Colocotroni, kept them in uncertainty. Loss of time was a serious mischief. It was foreseen that little or nothing was to be feared in this campaign from the enemy; every measure should be consequently taken to prepare for that which was to decide the question of Grecian independence.

Mavrocordato wrote to Lord Byron from Hydra, whither he had fled, inviting him to that island. He was seconded in the invitation by the principal Hydriots. Lord Byron thanked him for his courteous invitation, and, through me, replied, "that "none could more deeply deplore the un-"fortunate differences which paralysed their "energies at a moment when they might "reap the fruits of their extraordinary ef-"forts, and lay the foundation of the in-"dependence of their country; that, among "other bad consequences of those discords, "the keeping away the illustrious Mavro-

"cordato was not the least; that, as for "himself, he would remain as a looker-on "until he could see the favourable moment "of co-operating with advantage in the "national cause. He requested him to "hasten the sailing of the fleet, and the "departure of the deputies." At the same time he answered several other letters, bearing similar invitations from different chiefs. Not content with this, he despatched Messrs. Browne and Trelawny to Hydra, to press most earnestly the execution of this important advice.

The Captain Pacha had already set sail, with the greater part of the fleet, for the Dardanelles, leaving a squadron of fourteen vessels with Yussuff Pacha, for the blockade of Missolonghi, and for the protection of the fortresses in the Gulf still in the possession of the Turks.

Missolonghi was blockaded by this squadron, and besieged by Omer Pacha, and by the Pacha of Scutari, with nearly twenty thousand men, who had arrived after the death of Botzari. The governor, a Count Metaxa, a Cephalonian, solicited Lord Byron, by letters, to come there; and his faction in Cephalonia seconded his importunities. On an attentive consideration of the state of affairs, it was easy to perceive that that place stood in no great danger, either from famine or the attacks of the enemy. But still the raising of the blockade would be of infinite service, and on that account Lord Byron earnestly pressed the sailing of the Greek fleet. He sent medicines for the wounded, and for the dangerous maladies prevalent at that season of the year.

The generous dispositions of Lord Byron towards Greece were called into play during his residence at Cephalonia. Many unfortunate Greek families, who had fled there, were relieved by him. The greater part of the Suliots, arriving from the other Ionian Islands, were sent, at his expense, into Roumelia, to the assistance of their fellow-countrymen; and they would not have gone without leaving their families under such a protector.

In these occupations, and with no other amusement than his horse, he enjoyed excellent health and spirits. The doctor and myself were with him. We inhabited a small house, containing four rooms, two occupied by him.

He spent the day as follows:—Leaving his bedroom at nine, he was employed in answering letters and settling affairs with me till eleven. He then breakfasted, and took nothing but a cup of tea. Towards noon he got on horseback, and generally remained out till three. Sometimes we went into the town. We then dined together, but he only ate cheese and vegetables. After dinner, we sometimes practised firing with a pistol. He then retired into his chamber till seven; and, after conversing with us till twelve, he retired to his chamber for the night, several hours of which, however, he passed in reading, for latterly he slept ill*.

He frequently received visits, either from some of the Greek agents, or from the resident English; and his pleasing manners, particularly to his countrymen, gained him universal esteem.

Kennedy

A Scotch doctor employed in the island, who was rather methodistically inclined, undertook the conversion, as he called it, of Lord Byron. He frequently visited him, and their disputes on religious matters sometimes lasted five or six hours. The Bible was so familiar to Lord Byron, that he frequently corrected the citations of the theological doctor.

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* See the Appendix.

We frequently conversed at length on the affairs of Greece; and the more he perceived that his influence might be of service in the struggle for the regeneration of that country, the more satisfaction he felt in the line of conduct he had pursued. "With a certain sum in advance," said he, "and no particular occupation, how could "I better employ my time and money? I "might have lived, or rather vegetated, in "splendour, in some uninteresting country "of Europe; but what are those pleasures, "so much sought after, when once obtained? My friends wished me in Eng-

"land, and I might, possibly, have visited "it—and I will—but not to reside. After "eight years' absence, the customs and "climate will no longer suit me." He often said, that he would never give up his determination, unless the Greeks themselves expelled him. "If," he exclaimed, "Greece should fall, I will bury myself in "the ruins!—if she should establish her "independence, I will take up my residence "in some part or other—perhaps in Attica, "where I once passed seven months."

He began a journal, but did not continue it regularly. He wrote nothing but letters. "Poetry," said he, "should only occupy the "idle. In more serious affairs it would be "ridiculous." ———, writing to him, said, that he had heard that, "instead of pursuing heroic and warlike adventures, he "was residing in a delightful villa, continuing 'Don Juan.'" This offended him for the moment, and he was sorry that such a mistaken judgment should have been formed of him.

About the beginning of October he heard of the illness of his daughter Ada, which made him anxious and melancholy for several days. He left off his journal, nor did he again continue it till a second letter informed him of her recovery. Lord Sydney Osborne, a friend and relation, came from Corfu, and passed two or three days with him.

Many Europeans, particularly Germans, some abandoning, others going to Greece, frequently arrived in the island. We daily gained fresh information concerning the character of the chiefs, and the nature of their dissensions. These unfortunately grew worse in proportion as the enthusiasm of Europe became warmer in their cause. Captain Hastings, the only Englishman who was engaged in the struggle—and he had been so for two years—wrote to Lord Byron a circumstantial and detailed account of the state of affairs.

A messenger of the executive body, Anarghiro, brought a pressing invitation to Lord Byron, requesting him to come to Napoli di Romania, or to Tripolizza. To this latter place he resolved to go. Mr. Parry, with the laboratory and the mechanics, were expected to arrive immediately, and it was of importance to determine how they could be immediately employed to the best advantage.

Our baggage was ready; some boats were hired to convey us to Pirgo; fifty Suliotes were taken into his Lordship's service, under the command of Captain Nicola Giavella, who waited our arrival at Pirgo with a number of mules for the baggage and suite.

It was the middle of November, and we were to move in two days. Lord Byron trusted that his disinterested intentions were now known. The accounts sent by Messrs. Browne and Trelawny, the repeated solicitations of the heads of the government, led to his determination: he hoped that his influence on the spot might produce a general reconciliation, and, in fine, hasten the departure of the deputies and the Greek fleet.

In the mean time, Mr. Hamilton Browne and the deputies arrived. His Lordship's letters, the entreaties of his agents, and the exertions of Mavrocordato, had at last induced them to set out. They touched at Cephalonia, for letters and advice from Lord Byron; and, indeed, something more—a loan of 30,000 dollars, or 300,000 piastres, for the payment of the Greek fleet. The demand came from the legislative body. A squadron of fourteen vessels, nine Hydriot, and five Speziot, would then immediately put to sea. Lazaro Conturiotti had paid the first month, and they trusted to his Lordship for the rest. He agreed to give £4,000, or 200,000 piastres. Lord Byron gave the deputies many letters for London: but, speaking of the loan, he made use of the following expressions, which no man of honourable sentiments will fail to appreciate:—"Every one says, and I believe, "that a loan will be the salvation of Greece, "both as to its internal disunion and ex"ternal enemies: but I shall refrain from "insisting much on this point, for fear I "should be suspected of interested views, "and of wishing to repay myself from the "loan of the money I have advanced your "government."

Mavrocordato wrote to Lord Byron at length on the state of his countrymen, their dissensions, &c. which he showed were a natural consequence of the posture in which they stood; that a loan could alone eradicate the cause; that western Greece was threatened, and ought to be relieved; that his retreat from public affairs was only temporary, and that he himself would set out with the fleet. This letter seemed to us to come from a sincere patriot and an able statesman.

The news from London confirmed the accounts of an increasing interest in the Greek cause, and the best dispositions for the loan. The departure of the deputies was hastened. At Corfu they were well received by the Ionian government, and even some days' quarantine were taken off to enable them to sail by the packet.

We were afterwards employed in realizing the £4,000, to be ready on the arrival of the fleet. As Lord Byron had been solicited by the legislative body, the real representatives of the nation, to turn all his thoughts to western Greece, he was obliged to abandon going to Tripolizza. Doctor Anarghiro was sent back with letters to the government, stating the reasons of Lord Byron's change of resolution. We found no small difficulty in realizing the abovementioned small sum in the Ionian Islands, where there are few capitalists, and where the love of private interest is at least equal to that of the public good. The Ionian merchants made usurious offers, and endeavoured to take advantage of the necessities of Lord Byron, or rather of their own unfortunate nation. Lord Byron was not a man to submit to their imposition, and resolved on sending to

Malta, whence Mr. Grant had written, offering very good terms. But the English house in Zante, Messrs. Barff and Hancock, with whom he had no connexion, offered to discount the bills on the most advantageous terms. Their conduct, not only on this occasion, but afterwards, as well towards Lord Byron as the Greeks, was always the most zealous and generous.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of Colonel Stanhope—The Pacha of Scutari retires from the siege of Anatolico—Dissensions amongst the Greeks of the Morea—Lord Byron addresses a public letter to the legislative body, and a private letter to Prince Mavrocordato—Arrival of the Greek fleet and of Mavrocordato—Lord Byron sends a message to the Prince—Arrival of two Greek vessels off the harbour of Argostoli, with letters from the Prince and the Greek government to Lord Byron—Lord Byron embarks, and sails from Cephalonia—Arrives at Zante—Sails for Missolonghi—Is separated from Count Gamba—The latter, with part of Lord Byron's household, taken by a Turkish frigate, and conveyed to the Castle of the Morea—His release and arrival at Missolonghi, where Lord Byron also arrives—His joyful reception—Account of his dangerous voyage there—Departure of the Hydriote fleet—State of Greece—Lord Byron's political conduct in that country—His intended enterprise against Lepanto—He takes five hundred Suliotes into his pay—Forms an artillery brigade—Establishes a Greek newspaper.

About this same time, the middle of November, the Honourable Colonel L. Stanhope arrived, in company with two envoys of the German committees. He came from Ancona, deputed by the London committee to act with Lord Byron: he was the bearer of the best news from Europe. The interest in favour of the Greeks had risen to enthusiasm, particularly in England: every exertion was making for a loan, and, apparently, only the Greek deputies were wanting to conclude it.

News from Greece now informed us that the Pacha of Scutari had abandoned Anatolico, and that the Turkish army had fled precipitately; whether through fear of the approaching winter, through want of provisions, or on account of divisions amongst the commanders, was not known: the first and the latter conjectures were the most probable. From the Morea, we heard that the legislative body had declared against the executive, that open violence had been resorted to by the latter, and that the factions had already come to blows. It was melancholy, indeed, that the fond hopes of the Christian world should be thus frustrated in such a favourable juncture by the petty dissensions and selfish views of a few chiefs, and after so many heroic exertions. But previous to fresh hostilities, and whilst succours were collecting abroad, it was the duty of the true friends of Greece to unite in settling these discords; and such was the resolution of Lord Byron.

As Lord Byron had been declared the representative of the English and German committees, or, more properly speaking, of all Europeans interested in the Greek cause, it was judged proper that he should address a public letter to the general government of Greece, demonstrating how their fatal dissensions prevented them from taking advantage of so many favourable opportunities. Averse as he was to every appearance of ostentation and charlatanism, he thought that such a letter might nevertheless be of some utility; and this he considered sufficient. He likewise wrote to Mavrocordato. Too great publicity could not be given to these letters; and Colonel Stanhope offering to be the bearer of them, he in a few days set out for Zante.

I here give an extract from a letter from Lord Byron to the executive and legislative bodies of the Greek nation:

"Cephalonia, Nov. 30, 1823.

"The affair of the loan, the expectation so long and "vainly indulged of the arrival of the Greek fleet, and "the danger to which Missolonghi is still exposed, have "detained me here, and will still detain me till some of "them are removed. But when the money shall be ad"vanced for the fleet, I will start for the Morea, not

" knowing, however, of what use my presence can be in " the present state of things. We have heard some ru- " mours of new dissensions, nay, of the existence of a " civil war. With all my heart, I pray that these reports " may be false or exaggerated; for I can imagine no " calamity more serious than this; and I must frankly " confess, that unless union and order are established, " all hopes of a loan will be vain; and all the assistance " which the Greeks could expect from abroad—an assist- " ance neither trifling nor worthless—will be suspended " or destroyed; and what is worse, the great powers of " Europe, of whom no one was an enemy to Greece, but " seemed to favour her establishment of an independent " power, will be persuaded that the Greeks are unable " to govern themselves, and will, perhaps, themselves " undertake to settle your disorders in such a way, as to " blast the brightest hopes of yourselves and of your " friends.

" And allow me to add once for all—I desire the well- " being of Greece, and nothing else; I will do all I can " to secure it; but I cannot consent, I never will con- " sent that the English public, or English individuals, " should be deceived as to the real state of Greek affairs. " The rest, gentlemen, depends on you: you have fought " gloriously; act honourably towards your fellow-citizens " and towards the world; then it will no more be said, " as it has been said for two thousand years, with the Ro- " man historian, that Philopœmen was the last of the Gre- " cians. Let not calumny itself (and it is difficult, I " own, to guard against it in so arduous a struggle) " compare the patriot Greek, when resting from his "labours, to the Turkish Pacha, whom his victories "have exterminated.

"I pray you to accept these my sentiments as a sincere proof of my attachment to your real interests; and "to believe that I am, and always shall be,

"Your, &c.

(Signed) "N. B."

On the same occasion, Lord Byron wrote to Prince Mavrocordato a letter *in Italian*, which he consigned to the care of Colonel Stanhope:

"Cefalonia, 2d Decembre, 1823.

"Principe,

"La presente sarà recapitata a V. A. dall' onorévole "Colonello Stanhope, figlio del Maggior-Generale Conte "di Arrington, &c. Egli è arrivato da Londra in cinquanta giorni, dopo aver visitato tutti i comitati di "Germania, ed è incaricato al nostro comitato ad operare in mia compagnia alla liberazione della Grecia. "Io credo che il suo nome e la sua missione lo raccomanderanno abastanza all' A. V. senza che gli abbisognino altre raccomandazioni da uno straniero, quantunque sia un tale, che rispetta ed ammira con l'Europa "intera il coraggio, i talenti, e sopratutto la probità del "Principe Mavrocordato.

"Duolmi oltremodo in udire che le discordie con-
"tinuino sempre in Grecia, e in un momento in cui ella
"protrebbe trionfare da ogni parte, come ha trionfato
"in alcune.

"La Grecia è posta fra tre partiti: o riconquistare la
"libertà, o divenire uno dipendenza dei sovrani Europei,
"o tornare uno provincia Turca: non ha che a sciegliere
"fra questi tre. Ma la guerra civile non parmi strada
"che agli ultimi due. Se invidia la sorte della Valachia
"e della Crimea, può ottenerla domani; se quella dell'
"Italla, postdomani; ma se vuol diventare la vera Grecia,
"libera per sempre e independente, conviene che si de-
"termini oggi, o non avrà più tempo mai più.

"Sono con tutto rispetto
"Dell' A. V. devot° servo,
"N. B.

"P. S. Vostra Altezza saprà già come io ho cercato
"di sodiffare alla richieste del governo Greco per quanto
"era nel poter mio; ma vorrei che questa flotta sì lungo
"tempo aspettata e sempre in vano arivasse, o almeno
"fosse in strada: e sopratutto che L. A. Vostra si acostasse
"a queste parti, o sulla flotta con missione publica, o in
"qualche altro modo."

TRANSLATION.

"Cephalonia, 2d Dec. 1823.

"Prince,

"The present will be put into your hands by Colonel
"Stanhope, son of Major-General the Earl of Harrington,

" &c. &c. He has arrived from London in fifty days, " after having visited all the committees of Germany. " He is charged by our committee to act in concert with " me for the liberation of Greece. I conceive that his " name and his mission will be a sufficient recommendation, " without the necessity of any other from a foreigner, although one who, in common with all Europe, " respects and admires the courage, the talents, and, " above all, the probity of Prince Mavrocordato.

" I am very uneasy at hearing that the dissensions of " Greece still continue, and at a moment when she might " triumph over every thing in general, as she has already " triumphed in part. Greece is, at present, placed between three measures: either to re-conquer her liberty, " to become a dependence of the sovereigns of Europe, " or to return to a Turkish province. She has the choice " only of these three alternatives. Civil war is but a " road which leads to the two latter. If she is desirous " of the fate of Walachia and the Crimea, she may obtain it to-morrow; if of that of Italy, the day after; " but if she wishes to become truly Greece, free and independent, she must resolve to-day, or she will never " again have the opportunity.

" I am, with due respect,
" Your Highness's obedient servant,
" N. B.

" P. S. Your Highness will already have known that " I have sought to fulfil the wishes of the Greek government, as much as it lay in my power to do so: but I "should wish that the fleet, so long and so vainly ex-"pected, were arrived, or, at least, that it were on the "way; and especially that your Highness should ap-"proach those parts, either on board the fleet, with a "public mission, or in some other manner."

Such were the sentiments and the wishes of Lord Byron in this important crisis.

At last the long-expected fleet arrived. Mavrocordato was aboard. Between Ithaca and Cephalonia they fell in with a Turkish corvette from Prevesa, with a considerable sum of money and some Turks of distinction, amongst whom was a nephew of Yussuff himself. The money had been sent to the Pacha for the payment of sixteen months' arrears due to the garrisons of Patras and of the other three fortresses, who had long been loud in their complaints. The corvette, attacked by the superior forces of the Greeks, defended itself desperately, and would not surrender. In the end, it was wrecked on the coast of Ithaca. The Greeks, urged on by the heat of the action, and by the hope of booty, broke the neutrality of the Ionian Islands, and gave rise to various complaints and remonstrances.

The Greek squadron afterwards cast anchor off Missolonghi, where Mavrocordato was received with enthusiasm, in gratitude for the memorable services he had rendered the year preceding. He was intrusted with full powers to organise western Greece. The Turkish squadron of fifteen vessels, brigs, corvettes, and two large frigates, was shut up in the gulf of Lepanto.

Lord Byron immediately despatched a boat with Signior Praidi, to inform Mavrocordato that the loan requested of him by the government was ready, and that he would either go aboard the Greek fleet, or come to Missolonghi, in order to have a conference with him. Colonel Stanhope, who was still at Zante, immediately set out for Missolonghi.

The weather was unfavourable and stormy. In a few days a Speziot brig, the Leonidas, cast anchor in the port of Argostoli, under pretence of procuring water. The Commandant would not allow it to remain in port more than twenty-four hours, and forbade any communication with the land. Permission was, however, given to deliver any letters: he had none; nor was Praidi aboard. The captain informed Lord Byron, by letter, that he was ordered by his admiral to attend his Lordship's orders. We were waiting for an answer by our messenger: the Leonidas continued sailing off the port; and two days afterwards we saw from our village of Metaxata another brig, which arrived, having on board Signior Praidi and some Greek officers, bringing letters from Mavrocordato and Colonel Stanhope, who requested him to come to Missolonghi, where his presence was of the utmost importance*. A letter likewise from the Legislative Body solicited him to co-operate with Mavrocordato in the organisation of western Greece. One of the brigs was to return to Missolonghi, the other to convoy, or to receive Lord Byron on board, if he should prefer it. But Lord Byron declined the offer, and preferred hiring vessels for himself.

It was now the 26th of December. A boat was hired for part of the baggage; a light, fast-sailing vessel, called a Mistico, for Lord Byron and his suite; and a larger vessel for the rest of the baggage, horses, &c. &c.

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* Extracts from these letters are given in the Appendix.

In less than twelve hours every thing was ready, and we were on board; but contrary winds detained us for two days. Lord Byron lodged with his banker, Mr. Hancock, and passed the greater part of the day in company with the English authorities of the island.

The wind becoming fair, on the 28th of December, at 3 p. m. we set sail, he in the Mistico, myself in the larger vessel. On the 29th in the morning, we were at Zante. We passed the day in transacting business with Mr. Barff, and sent on board a considerable sum of money.

The Commandant, Dr. Thomas, and others, called on Lord Byron, but he declined an invitation to the Commandant's house. We took our ship's papers for Calamo, one of the smaller of the Ionian islands, near the coast of Roumelia. Towards six in the evening we set sail for Missolonghi, without the slightest suspicion that the Turkish fleet could have left the Gulf of Lepanto. We knew that the Greeks were anchored before Missolonghi, nearly at the entrance of the Gulf, and we expected to fall in with the Leonidas, or some other Greek vessel, either in search of, or waiting for us.

We sailed together till after ten at night; the wind favourable—a clear sky, the air fresh but not sharp.—Our sailors sang alternately patriotic songs, monotonous indeed, but to persons in our situation extremely touching, and we took part in them. We were all, but Lord Byron particularly, in excellent spirits. The Mistico sailed the fastest. When the waves divided us, and our voices could no longer reach each other, we made signals by firing pistols and carabines—"To-morrow we meet at Missolonghi—to-morrow." Thus, full of confidence and spirits, we sailed along. At twelve, we were out of sight.

The wind freshened towards three o'clock in the morning; my captain, Spiro Valsamarchi, of Cephalonia, was afraid of sailing any further in the dark on account of the shallows.

We again proceeded at five; at half past six it was daylight, and we found ourselves near the insulated rocks which are seen in front of the shallows of Missolonghi. A little before us to the right, a large vessel was perceived coming slowly towards us: at first it was thought to be one of the Greek fleet, but it was too large: we then believed it an Imperial frigate. In outward form and appearance it was superior to a Turkish ship; nor was it like an English nor an American. How could a Turkish vessel be alone, and there? It veered towards us: we hoisted the Ionian flag, they the Ottoman. How great was our astonishment! the captain and sailors were amazed —almost in despair. What was to be done? —Fly?—there was no time; and then, if we were caught, it would be worse. In the mean time, the Turks approached, and called the captain aboard. The poor fellow gave himself up for lost. "*What shall I* "*say?*" I replied, "*Say what your papers* "*declare, that you are freighted by travellers* "*for Calamo—leave the rest to me: for* "*God's sake, no schemes, no contradictions.*" "—But we have left Calamo behind."— "*Well, then, the night, the wind will be a* "*sufficient plea.*" We put our captain on board the frigate: we began to think what we had to make us suspicious characters —several servants, five horses, dogs; a few guns for sporting, and some money; all under my protection. I prepared my story:—"I am a traveller; I am going to

" Calamo, to join an English nobleman, to " whom most of the things on board belong; " thence, to set out on our travels whenever " the unfortunate disturbances should per- " mit us :" and this agreed with our papers, and partly with the truth. I had a packet of letters, containing all Lord Byron's correspondence with the Greek chiefs. Without delay, I then tied fifty pounds of shot to the package, and told a servant to stand in readiness behind the sail, and, immediately on seeing a boat move off, to fling it overboard. A Turk got into the boat; the servant, thinking he was coming towards us, dropped the package into the sea. As it turned out, there was no necessity for this step; but as he had done so, I was no longer in fear, either for myself or for the suite. With resolution and firmness, rather than by false pretences, I thought I could get off safely, and especially as I had to deal with barbarians. I now only felt apprehensions for Lord Byron, whose fate I did not know: he had with him more money, a great number of arms, and some Greeks, not Ionians. A small vessel was seen near one of the rocks, called Scrofes, apparently taking refuge there. I thought it was the Mistico, and I felt tranquil: a frigate could not approach it.

Three sails now appeared at a distance, on the side of Zante. A great shout was raised in the frigate, for the Turks took them for the Greeks, and made sail towards the Gulf, ordering us, with noise and threats, to follow. Another frigate was then descried farther off in the Gulf, and also the rest of the Turkish fleet.

Proceeding towards Patras, our captain showed himself on the poop of the frigate, and hailed us aloud, and told us to be cheerful. We cried out, that he stood more in need of consolation than we; but his exclamation had greatly comforted our crew. We afterwards learnt, that when Spiro first came on board he was received by the Turkish captain with his drawn sword. The Turks thought our bombard was a fireship, and our poor Greek heard the order—"Cut off his head, and sink the "ship!" It was a trying moment. The captain asked him, in a threatening tone, whether he was not going to Missolonghi? He had not the power to say "no;"—but, on a sudden, fear seems to have opened his eyes, and permitted him to recognise, in the person of the Turkish captain, one whom he had before seen. "What!" said he, "are you going to take away the life "of him who saved your life? Don't you "recollect Spiro Valsamarchi, whom you "saw in the Black Sea?"

"Is it possible," said the Turk—"you "Spiro?" He embraced the trembling Greek, took him into his cabin, showed the utmost solicitude on his behalf, and frequently, when we were afterwards together, took the opportunity of testifying his gratitude to his old deliverer, who, it seems, had saved the Turk, his brother, and eight others, from shipwreck in a merchant vessel, to the no small hazard of his own life.

We cast anchor under Patras, about four p. m., in the midst of fourteen Turkish vessels. The captain of the frigate immediately went to the Seraskier; and, passing by, told me that, on his return, he should wish to see me.

In about an hour I went, and with me Sig. Zambelli, his Lordship's superintendant of the household, and three servants. I was allowed to have two, to take care of the horses. Knowing that presents are a good introduction, particularly to a Turk, I carried with me a telescope, and some bottles of rum and porter. The captain, whose name was Zachirià, received me with courtesy, and willingly accepted my trifling gifts, but seemed to fear lest he should not be able to make a traffic of them *. His interpreter and his pilot was a Roman by birth, whom he called Captain Francesco, and who, apparently, had escaped from the galleys of Civita Vecchia. He asked me whence I came, whither I was going, and what I had on board? Trusting that Spiro had obeyed my orders, I replied accordingly. But Captain Francesco vauntingly said, that Spiro had confessed that we were going to Missolonghi. Spiro wanted to deny this with fresh explanations. "What "have I," I answered with firmness—"what "have I to do with what he said? I neither "know nor care about his story—my papers "speak plainly enough. His vessel, hired by

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* For some additional account of this circumstance, see the notes in the Appendix.

" me, is now mine, and I best know whether " I am bound to Calamo or Missolonghi. " The night—the wind—may have driven " him out of his course. Another vessel, " with a friend, is there waiting for me; " and if you thus treat me, in violation of " every law, you must answer for it to the " Ionian government." They said, they had seen the Mistico pass close to them in the dark. Captain Francesco did not appear satisfied with my explanation, and was unwilling to relinquish the large portion of the booty which he expected. But the Turk interposed: he excused the contradictions of Spiro on the score of fear: he was sorry, he said, to be obliged to detain us, as his crew had heard the answer of Spiro; but told us to be cheerful, and offered us soup and coffee. Then it was that he entered into conversation about Spiro—" that he was a good man—that he " owed his life to him—that he considered "himself fortunate in having an opportu-"nity to return a small part of his debt, for "he never could sufficiently repay him." At supper, the Turk began to thank Mahomet, who had again conducted him safely into port. To-morrow, he said, we should enter the Gulf, and then he would recommend me to Yussuff Pacha, an excellent man and his particular friend; and he added, that I ought even to complain of his (Zachirià's) conduct, for having stopped me in my way to Calamo, beyond the line of blockade. He only requested me to bear testimony to his having had the boldness to advance all alone so far beyond the mouth of the Gulf. This recommendation, said he, would be worth 500,000 piastres to him at Constantinople. He made me a present of a handsome Turkish pipe, and appeared solicitous of rendering his hospitality acceptable to us. We entered port in the morning, and after mid-day I was landed in the ship's boat at the castle of the Morea, near which my vessel cast anchor. The fleet was moored on the opposite side of the Gulf, under Lepanto.

I immediately went to the English Consulate. Mr. Green was at Zante, but I found his agent, Sig. Romanelli, an Ionian Greek, who received us in a polite manner, and appeared to take up our cause with warmth. The Pacha was then in his seraglio, but would see me the next day; and, in the mean time, I was allowed to go on board my vessel. I asked permission to shoot along the shore, for there was a fine line of coast. The vice-consul sent two Janissaries with me. Arriving at the foot of a hill, my guards would not ascend, for fear of the Greeks, who were masters of the mountains, and frequently came down to carry off the sheep. The Turks never ventured there; for the Greeks, hiding at night in the bushes, robbed and killed the Turks when driving out their flocks in the morning. Two days afterwards I myself witnessed one of these freebootings. But I despised the prudence of my guards. Thus I stood in danger of being way-laid by the Greeks for a Turk, and of being hanged by the Turks for a Greek.

In the morning I had an interview with the Pacha, who willingly accepted some woodcocks of me. He received me in his divan, seated, or rather lying, on a sofa, smoking, as were likewise four or five officers, or counsellors, seated round him. After coffee and pipes, the examination began. I answered him as I had before answered Zachirià: I deplored the turbulent state of the country, which made travelling, our favourite passion, so difficult. To comply with the request of my hospitable captain, I blamed him for capturing us out of the line of blockade, and extolled his temerity in advancing so far alone.

The Pacha seemed much pleased with the bravery of his captain, and congratulated me on my good fortune in falling into their hands rather than into those of the infidels. He spoke Turkish to his secretary, and the latter addressed me in Greek. He questioned me about the corvette destroyed by the Hydriots, on the coast of Ithaca. I related the fact to him. The corvette was his property; the money on board was to pay the troops; and it was his nephew who had been killed. I did not perceive the slightest emotion in his countenance. He asked me what Sir Thomas Maitland had thought of it; and if he would not revenge so great an insult offered to the English by those rascally pirates. I replied, that Sir Thomas was highly incensed at the infraction of the neutrality.

He desired me to be told that he could not comprehend how the English felt such interest for those wretches. He promised my immediate liberation; and, thanking me for the information I had given him, said that I could not have my papers till the following day, as the Seraskier was anchored under Nepacto (Lepanto).

It was now Thursday, the 1st of January, 1824, but neither that day nor the day after did the papers come. I passed my time shooting, without any guards; nor did I meet with any molestation. I was informed, on Saturday morning, that my papers were to be found at the consulate. I went there at eight o'clock. The Pacha sent for the consul, and kept him above three hours. I was not without apprehension, as letters had arrived for the Pacha from Zante, where I knew he had many spies. I at last got them; but the wind not being favourable, I did not sail till four next morning, the 4th of January.

At noon we reached the port of Missolonghi, which is situated several miles from the town, on account of the shallows. Five Speziot brigs of war lay at anchor: they saluted us with several discharges of cannon; and I set out to Missolonghi in a Speziot boat. The wonder and joy of the whole town on seeing me safe, with all my charge, is inexpressible: but how much greater was my surprise when I heard that Lord Byron was not arrived, but was expected from Dragomestri. On the morning of the fifth, we were informed that he had passed the night aboard his vessel, in the port. At eleven, a. m. he arrived at Missolonghi.

It is here that my journal regularly begins: the first part was sunk with my other papers. I shall therefore make my extracts as they came from my pen on the spot. Lord Byron's arrival was welcomed with salvos of artillery, firing of muskets, and wild music. Crowds of soldiery, and citizens of every rank, sex, and age, were assembled on the shore to testify their delight. Hope and content were pictured in every countenance. His Lordship landed in a Speziot boat, dressed in a red uniform. He was in excellent health, and appeared moved by the scene. I met him as he disembarked, and in a few minutes we entered the house prepared for him—the same in which Colonel Stanhope resided. The Colonel and Prince Mavrocordato, with a long suite of European and Greek officers, received him at the door.

I cannot easily describe the emotions which such a scene excited: I could scarcely refrain from tears; whether moved by the noise and signs of joy and delight, I know not; or whether from gladness that we now met each other safe on the Grecian soil, after encountering, in the space of a few days, so many dangers.

Lord Byron had escaped from equal perils. Parting company with us on the night of the 31st of December, his vessel came close up to the Turkish frigate, about two in the morning. The Greeks, by the appearance of it, and the sudden shout raised by the Turks, who took the Mistico for a fireship, perceiving the enemy, were enabled, under favour of the night and silence, to save themselves among the rocks of the Scrofes. They saw us taken and conducted to Patras. Not deeming it prudent to pursue their course towards Missolonghi, they steered for Petala, finding which port open and unsafe, they retired to

Dragomestri*. There the primates and officers of the place visited Lord Byron, offering him every possible succour. He sent off two messengers; one to Missolonghi, another to Zante†. To the former place he wished to go by land, but the mountains were impassable. Mavrocordato sent him five gun-boats, and a brig of war (the Leonidas), under the command of Praidi, and a Mr. Hesketh, a young Englishman, in the Greek service. On the 4th of January, steering for Missolonghi, he was overtaken by a violent storm, which threw him among the rocks. The sailors leaped on them, and got the vessel off unhurt. A second gust of wind drove them on again with greater violence. The sailors then, losing all hope of saving the vessel, began to think of their own safety. But Lord Byron persuaded them to remain; and by his firmness, and no small share of nautical skill, got them out of danger, and thus saved the vessel and several lives, with 25,000 dollars, the greater part in specie. He arrived late in the port of Missolonghi, and landed in the morning, as related*.

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* A small sea-port town on the coast of Acarnania.

† See the Appendix.

After eight days of such fatigue, he had scarcely time to refresh himself, and converse with Mavrocordato, and his friends and countrymen, before he was assailed by the tumultuous visits of the primates and chiefs. These latter, not content with coming all together, each had a suite of twenty or thirty, and not unfrequently fifty soldiers. It was difficult to make them understand that he would fix certain hours to receive them, and that the rest of the day was allotted to business or domestic affairs. Their visits began at seven o'clock, and the greater part of them were without any object. This is one of the most insupportable annoyances to which a man of influence and consideration is exposed in the East. I have seen Lord Byron bear all with great patience; Colonel Stanhope with still greater; but in this respect no man is to be compared to the indefatigable Mavrocordato.

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* He had not pulled off his clothes since leaving Cephalonia; had slept upon the deck, and had purposely exposed himself to privations, which he thought would harden his constitution, and enable him to bear the fatigues of a campaign. He swam for half an hour on the 1st of January. When at Dragomestri, he composed the rough sketch of a Suliote war song, which has been found amongst his papers, but is not very easy to decipher. He wrote a letter to Colonel Stanhope, which has already appeared, and is given in the Appendix.

When we arrived at Missolonghi, nine Hydriot brigs, impatient or hopeless of being paid, had already set out for their own country; and five Speziots were with difficulty induced to remain; and, to silence their threats of following the example of their companions, Mavrocordato was forced to borrow 500 dollars, under the guarantee of Colonel Stanhope, that they should be repaid from the 200,000 piastres of Lord Byron. All the chieftains of western Greece, that is, of all the mountainous districts occupied by the Greeks, from the plains of Arta on the one side to the territories of Salona on the other, were now collected at Missolonghi in a general assembly, together with a great many of the primates of the same countries. Mavrocordato had been named governor-general of the province, and president of the assembly. More than 5000 armed men had followed that chief, and were in the town. The first object of the assembly was the organisation of the military force of the province, the division of the districts under their respective captains, and of the troops in each district; the assignment of the soldiers' pay, and the establishment of the national constitution and a regular form of government in that part of Greece.

Another object of Mavrocordato and his chiefs was the attack of Nepacto; which, if successful, they thought, would bring about the surrender of the castles of the Morea and Patras. Notwithstanding the retreat of the Hydriots, it was hoped that the Speziot vessels, with two fireships, would keep the Turkish squadron in check, if not drive it from the Gulf.

These efforts were, it is true, to be made not without many obstacles. The chieftains were not all of them well inclined to Mavrocordato; the soldiers were scarcely paid, or even fed at all by the regular government; and so great was the apprehension of disturbances, quarrels, and even of a civil war, that without the influence of

Mavrocordato, and the presence of Lord Byron, with his pecuniary succours, the worst consequences might be feared, even although the Turkish armies had retreated from the siege of Anatolicò and Missolonghi.

After the departure of the Captain Pacha from the eastern shores of Greece, and that of the Pacha of Scutari from Missolonghi, there was no fear of their return until the next spring. The Peloponnesus, with the exception of the castles of the Morea and of Patras, of Modon and of Covon, was in the hands of the Greeks; so was the northern shore of the Gulf of Lepanto, with the exception of the two castles. Bœotia and Attica were entirely in the power of the Greeks, together with the isthmus of Corinth. But the discord of the Greeks amongst themselves had now began to assume a most inauspicious aspect. The whole year, during which by law the executive body was to exist, had not expired; but their inertness and their rapacity had, not only in the islands, but in the Morea, so raised public opinion against them, that the legislative body resolved upon the energetic measure of dispossessing them at once of their power. This they did, alleging that the constitution had been infringed by the late men in power; and they elected a new executive, at the head of which they placed George Conturiottis, one of the most zealous, respectable, and richest patriots in Greece. The former executive body, however, would not tamely submit to this measure, but, gathering round them some of those who had profited by their exertions, they seized on several strong places, and openly resisted the government.

Such was the state of affairs when Lord Byron arrived in Greece. His situation was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty: his own dignity, and the true interest of Greece, forbade him to mix himself up with any party; and he at once perceived that if by such a conduct he could finally reconcile the factions, he would play a part the most glorious that a stranger could attempt to perform.

Intrigues and underhand practices, however political, and perhaps useful in some degree they might have been, were contrary to the dignity of his station, and incompatible with his high character. Now it was that we all saw the advantage derived from his protracted residence in the Ionian Islands: there he had opportunities of knowing others, and of becoming known himself. His influence had increased amongst all parties; and how seldom has it happened, that a similar opportunity has been afforded to an independent and disinterested stranger of exercising so beneficent and powerful an influence for the salvation of an oppressed people.

The legislative body, which was the truly national party, acquired force every day. In conjunction with all the best patriots and the friends of Greece, he directed therefore all his efforts to the establishment of the government, and to the peaceful submission of the factions. In short, he made such dispositions, as might turn to the best account the first supplies of the expected loan, and might secure the organisation of a government capable of resisting all the attacks of the enemy during the next year ; and at the same time, lay the foundations of those institutions which might confirm the freedom and independence of Greece.

This was the aim of Lord Byron; to this were directed all his actions; and in spite of obstacles and difficulties, he was on the point of accomplishing this noble project, when he sunk under the blow that proved so calamitous to Greece, to his friends, and to the world.

The winter, however, admitted only of preparations for future enterprise—nothing could be done except by re-organising western Greece, and by attempting the capture of Lepanto. It would be superfluous to repeat here the advantages which would be derived from this exploit; one of the most material of which would be the employment of an idle and expensive soldiery, and the acquirement of fresh courage and mutual confidence. The chieftains appeared very eager to undertake this enterprise under the orders of Lord Byron; and Mavrocordato was persuaded that their irregular troops would more willingly obey him than any Greek, or any other foreigner. Lord Byron had no pretensions to military skill; but courage and energy are perhaps more useful than science for the conduct of undisciplined forces; besides which, there was no want of expert officers, although occasions had as yet never or seldom called them forth: add also, that in respect to pecuniary resources, Lord Byron contributed from his own purse more than the whole government put together. Thus the peril, and the difficulty, and the sacrifices would fall to the share of Lord Byron; of this he was aware, and this determined him to accept the conduct of the undertaking.

Lord Byron, after much experience, had convinced himself that the first want of Greece was a strong national government; but he felt that such a government could not subsist, unless means were found to put into circulation the great natural resources of the country; hence, his anxiety for the loan; and hence his unceasing efforts whilst that measure was in preparation, to raise the public spirit, and to organise the requisite government. The enterprise against Lepanto, and all the other occupations on which we saw him intent at Missolonghi, were only of a secondary interest, although momentous in themselves, and tended only to his great object. Two officers, an Englishman and a German, proceeded to the examination of the fortifications of Lepanto. A few determined troops might take it by surprise or assault; the city might easily be cannonaded: besides this, we were aware that the Albanese garrison, which had not been paid for sixteen months, was discontented, and would willingly surrender, if secure of a reward, and of a safe retreat to Prevesa. They would confide for this treatment on the word of an Englishman. A blockade would be useless whilst the sea was open, and whilst we were unprovided with a battering train. We had, indeed, some heavy cannon at Missolonghi; but they were in bad condition, and, if we could have transported them across the mountains, we had still another want to supply, for where were our cannoneers? As to an assault or a surprise, we could not trust to the quality of our troops—excellent, indeed, for a mountain war, but unpractised in the other requisites of a soldier.

Mr. Parry was expected every day; and it was given out for certain, that he brought with him a supply of Congreve rockets, or, at least, the articles for manufacturing them immediately. The most exaggerated rumours, the offspring of Greek boasting and Turkish ignorance, increased the importance of these new weapons of war; and an inconsiderable number of them would most probably have answered all the purposes of terror and surprise against such antagonists. Colonel Stanhope had already sent letters for Mr. Parry, directed to Malta and Corfu, desiring him to proceed to Missolonghi.

Whilst waiting the arrival of Mr. Parry, we were occupied with preparing our troops in the best manner possible for our expedition. The greater part of the Suliotes were in Missolonghi: some of them were in the Morea. After the death of their noble chieftain, Marco Bozzari, those who had retired to Missolonghi and Anatolico had assisted in the defence of those towns. The magistrates, their employers, were in debt to them for eight months' pay, and they were clamorous for their dues. It should be told in their excuse, that being without house or home, they and their families had no other means of subsistence than their wretched pay, which, however, the urgent wants of the moment rendered it impossible for the magistrates to afford them. The interest which Lord Byron took in that warlike tribe was already known; and it was therefore wished that he should take into his service fifteen hundred of their number. Nota Bozzari, the uncle of Marco, and Mavrocordato, were employed to obtain my Lord's consent to this measure; but he was unwilling to undertake so weighty a charge; and he was also aware that, of those who might fairly be called Suliotes, there were scarcely three or four hundred. The next endeavour was to induce him to engage a thousand under his orders: Lord Byron consented to provide for five hundred. The government agreed for one hundred more; and this corps of six hundred was placed immediately under the command of his Lordship.

He assisted also to form a small artillery corps of fifty men, for which he and Colonel Stanhope were to provide the payment. The Colonel had already sent a messenger into the Morea, to collect the Germans from various parts of that peninsula. It was resolved also to form at once a company for the service of the artillery which was expected to arrive with Mr. Parry.

Whilst these preparations were making for the attack of Lepanto, there was no neglect of those salutary institutions which alone could enlighten the nation as to its dearest interests. Colonel Stanhope zealously laboured at the formation of schools on the Lancasterian plan; he established dispensaries for the preservation of the public health; and, on the 12th of January (the 1st, according to the Greek style), appeared the programme of the Greek Chronicle. Lord Byron, to the establishment of this paper, contributed at once 250 dollars. A trifling difference arose between the colonel and his Lordship as to the conduct of this paper. Lord Byron wished, if possible, to provide against personal attacks, which, in a country like Greece, without laws and tribunals, must end in assassinations and deadly feuds; and also to prevent the intemperate abuse of those Allied Sovereigns, who, whatever may be thought of their policy, must necessarily have so much influence on the future destinies of Greece. Colonel Stanhope, on the contrary, approved of an unlimited liberty in the conduct of the newspaper, and established the Chronicle on that principle. Lord Byron's difference of opinion with the Colonel did not prevent him from being the real founder of the first and most independent paper that has appeared in Greece; for the Chronicle was set up under the direction of Colonel Stanhope, but at the expense of his Lordship. Another journal appeared at Missolonghi a month afterwards, called the Greek Telegraph, and his Lordship incurred the first charges of that publication. Some idle comments having appeared on the differences of opinion between his Lordship and Colonel Stanhope, it is as well to mention the above facts, and to recall to mind the concluding words of Lord Byron's conversation with the Colonel, when he said, "JUDGE OF ME BY MY ACTIONS."

CHAPTER III.

Communication from the legislative body with Lord Byron—He rescues a Turkish prisoner—Letter from Coray to Mavrocordato—Lord Byron obliged to keep a Suliote guard in his house—Disturbances between the Suliotes and citizens of Missolonghi—Prince Mavrocordato's account of his own escape from the Turks—Lord Byron's sentiments as to his own situation in Greece—Affray with the Suliotes—The Turkish squadron come out of the Gulf—The Speziot ships return home—Lord Byron's conversation with Count Gamba on his expedition against Lepanto—Missolonghi blockaded—Lord Byron's poem on his birthday—His resolution—Presentiment of dying in Greece—Messenger sent to Mr. Parry—Arrival of Captain Yorke at Missolonghi—His remonstrance with the Greek authorities—Lord Byron releases four Turkish prisoners—His letter to Yussuff Pacha on that occasion—Lord Byron appointed commander of the expedition against Lepanto—Captain Yorke's second visit—Lord Byron's letter on the observance of neutrality—He arranges the dispute between Captain Yorke and the Greeks—Difference of opinion between Colonel

Stanhope and Lord Byron—Letter from Ulysses to Lord Byron—From General Londo—Anecdote of Londo in 1809—Lord Byron's letter to him—Lord Byron's attachment to oriental history—His accurate memory — Progress of the artillery brigade — Embarrassments of the Greek government.

January 15.—We had news from the Morea: Lord Byron's letters had been circulated there, and not without effect. The legislative body were pursuing the same energetic measures as before; and public opinion was daily more pronounced in their favour: but, with this increase of influence and favour, they were still in want of means to complete their endeavours. They requested from Lord Byron a further loan of 30,000 dollars; his means did not allow of such an advance.

The Germans arrived from the Morea; but their number was much less than we expected; and of those who came, some were ill, some wanted to return home, and others were officers of infantry only. We could find no more than two artillery officers, and some young volunteer pupils, fit for our purpose. We determined, therefore, to enrol some Greeks, and thus decide by experience how far they might be converted into disciplined soldiers. Colonel Stanhope arranged a plan for us, not without many difficulties in adjusting the rank of each individual; for the Germans were not altogether willing to forget their Prussian etiquette even in Greece.

January 16.—We transacted a variety of business with Colonel Stanhope and Mavrocordato. Notice was brought to us that a Turk had been taken prisoner by a Greek privateer. Lord Byron and myself went in our canoe to visit him. The man spoke Italian, and was extremely cast down; he was of Dulcigno, and had been in the service of the Pacha of Scutari. Returning to Prevesa, in a ship under the Imperial flag, with seventy of his companions, they got near a Greek privateer, who had hoisted the Turkish flag; and when they found their mistake, they attempted to escape. The ship got off; but this man, in his haste to make sail, fell overboard, and to save his life, swam to the Greek privateer: he made no complaint of the treatment he had received. Lord Byron wished to seize the first opportunity of advancing one of the principal objects of his endeavours, by instilling into the Greeks sentiments of humanity, and securing the good treatment of their prisoners. Accordingly, by Lord Byron's direction, I wrote to the governor of the town, requesting that the Turk might be allowed to disembark. The request was immediately complied with, and Lord Byron lodged him in his own house, and took every care of him.

After dinner this day, we were surprised by a violent altercation near the custom-house: it had arisen between the custom-house officers and certain Speziot sailors; and the cause of dispute was a sum of 25 *paras*, about twopence halfpenny! Both parties were furious; attaghans and pistols were flourishing about. My Lord ran into the midst of the combatants, and contrived to quiet them.

Many letters came, particularly one of an interesting nature, from the celebrated Coray to Mavrocordato. In one part of this letter, Coray expressed his surprise that Ipsilanti should have retained and been proud of his title of Prince, a mark of disgrace rather than of honour, since conferred upon him by the barbarous oppressors of his country. It might seem as if this reproof applied also to Mavrocordato;

he was aware of it, and remarked, "If they "will give me this title, how can I help "it?—but I never did pretend to it, and "I never will." Coray recommended a Sig. Vamba as a man whose patriotism and whose learning equally qualified him to be useful to his countrymen. We had already forestalled the wishes of Coray, and had invited him from Cephalonia, where he was intent upon his literary occupations. He is one of the best informed of the Greeks; and few scholars of any country surpass him in his knowledge of Hellenic literature. He was professor at the university of Scio, and accompanied Ipsilanti into the Morea at the beginning of the Revolution; but the misfortunes that attended the commencement of that enterprise obliged him to seek refuge in the Ionian islands.

This evening, whilst Mavrocordato was with Lord Byron, two sailors, belonging to the privateer which had taken the Turk, came into the room, demanding in an insolent tone that their prisoner should be delivered up to them. My Lord refused: their importunity became more violent; and they refused to leave the room without their Turk (such was their expression): on which, Lord Byron presenting a pistol at the intruders, threatened to proceed to extremities, unless they instantly retired. The sailors withdrew, but he complained to Mavrocordato of his want of authority, and said to him, "If your government "cannot protect me in my own house, I "will find means to protect myself." From that time my Lord retained a Suliote guard in his house.

I have mentioned this occurrence as it happened; but up to this time it had been a matter of surprise to us how complete a tranquillity had been maintained in a small city, where there were five or six thousand armed men subject to so many privations, without discipline, and without that subordination which laws well administered alone can ensure. How seldom is it that many thousands of our best regulated soldiers, in our most civilised towns, can deserve a similar eulogium! From this period, however, the Suliotes became an object of serious disquietude, and it was perceived that it would be difficult to induce them to quit Missolonghi. They demanded their arrears, and a retreat for their families. The citizens, on the other hand, began to murmur, and accused them of being more mischievous to them than to the common enemy: they looked to Lord Byron as to the only person who could persuade them to retire.

We had news of Parry: he had been at Corfu for eight days, and was to leave that island on the 11th for Missolonghi. Much of the enterprise against Lepanto depended on his arrival, for, amongst our other deficiencies, was a great scarcity of powder.

January 17.—Another portion of our loan was this day paid to Mavrocordato, who required it to satisfy part of the arrears of the Suliotes. No news came to-day. It poured down rain without intermission. The captain of the privateer came to apologise to Lord Byron, who would not receive him unless he brought with him the man who had offended on the former evening. The man was brought; his manner of excusing himself was truly oriental: "If," he said, "O Effendi, you think that "I meant to insult you, here is my head "for you!" He then proceeded to say that he was intoxicated, and that he was not aware that the Turk was under his Excellency's protection; and, he added, "I have no evil intentions towards the "wretched man;—on the contrary, I came "to save him, as I have done twice before; "for I was told he would be killed here." The Greek seemed not to be aware that he was accusing us of being assassins: and I afterwards learnt that the Turk had been taken three times, and that this man said he had been the person who took him.

Mavrocordato came this evening, as he did every evening, to confer with Lord Byron: nothing could be more interesting than their conversations: I was generally present. To-night he gave us an account of his escape from Patras. He was passing the night close to that town, on his way to Tripolitza, in 1822: a band of the enemy surprised him in his sleep, and were in the house before he was aware; but his baggage saved him; for whilst the Turks were disputing about the booty, he slipped away unperceived. When I was in the castle of the Morea, a Turk showed me a pair of shoes, which he boasted of having taken from Mavrocordato. The conversation, this evening, turned also on the expediency of making an inroad into Thessaly. It was agreed that a body of regular troops, two or three thousand, would be necessary to make the Greeks masters of the plains; for the Turks had disarmed the population, at least in great part; and though four-fifths of the inhabitants are Christians, they could not rise without some disciplined forces to gather upon. Indeed it is difficult to say what might be the progress of the Greek arms, with a very few thousand regular troops; for, except in parts of Thrace, the Christians are infinitely more numerous than the Ottomans in European Turkey.

January 18.—The morning was occupied with business. Colonel Stanhope was employed with the Germans. We made progress in filling up and in organising our artillery corps.

The rain abated a little, but the roads were so broken up that we could not ride. Lord Byron and myself went in the monoxila (canoe); we had no other means of getting a little fresh air. Byron talked much to me of his expedition against Lepanto. He owned he had no great confidence in his troops; and yet he must make use of them, as he had no better; and, in order to make these better, he had no other way than to obtain their confidence by showing that he had confidence in them. "Above all," he added, "these "semibarbarians should never entertain "the least suspicion of your personal cou"rage." He went on to speak of his eagerness to begin his campaign; joked a good deal about his post of "*Archistrategos*," or commander-in-chief; but after all he discovered, unawares perhaps, to me, that the romance and the peril of the undertaking were great allurements to him. He talked so much on this head, that I and others were always apprehensive that he would expose himself unnecessarily.

Returning from our airing, we received several important communications from the castles (of Lepanto and Morea), and from Prevesa: Yussuff Pacha was in great embarrassment; his troops seemed inclined to mutiny, and his fleet would not leave the harbour. The arrival of Lord Byron, and our preparations, had a good deal caused this consternation; for it appeared that the captain of an Austrian brig of war, who had two days before anchored off Missolonghi, under pretext of getting provisions, but in reality to see what we were about, had afterwards had a long conference with Yussuff, and had left him in a more melancholy mood than usual. Our news from Prevesa was, that the dissensions with the Albanians were daily becoming more serious, and that we had nothing to fear from that quarter.

About nine o'clock this evening we heard discharges of musquetry, which continued longer, and were more frequent than usual. We were accustomed to hear this noise; for the Greeks are in the habit of unloading their guns in the streets; and, as they never draw their charges, the balls frequently whistled close to our heads. To-night, however, the firing was repeated so often, that we thought some disturbance had arisen; and we soon learnt, that the Suliotes and the citizens were at last come to blows. We got all our arms in readiness, thinking it most likely that one party or the other would fly to our house for succour, and compromise us in these fatal quarrels. Various rumours of the cause of this affair reached us from time to time; but we could make out nothing decisively, except that the battle had been attended with fatal consequences. A little later, Signior Praidi came to my Lord with the information that the Turkish fleet was already out of the Gulf, and that the five Speziots had been obliged to make sail, and run before them.

January 19.—Early in the morning we saw the Greek fleet making sail, and the Turkish ships standing out of the mouth of the Gulf. We now learnt the immediate cause of last night's disturbance. Some Suliotes had gone to a house to take up their quarters, according to the permission given them by the magistrates of Missolonghi: the master of the house was not at home; but the Suliotes very quietly took possession of a chamber, laid down their guns and swords, spread their mats, and were quite at their ease, when their landlord arrived, and told them to retire instantly. They refused—he threatened—from words they came to blows. The women in the house began to scream aloud, and soon collected a crowd: several Missolonghiotes ran to the assistance of their fellow-citizen, and other Suliotes joined their comrades. Had it not been for the prudence of some chieftains, and particularly of Constantine Bozzari, the quarrel would have become general. One man was killed; a Suliote died a few days afterwards; and many were badly wounded, amongst whom was the commissary at war, one of the most respectable citizens, who received two or three blows as he was endeavouring to part the combatants. The Suliotes were the more formidable, as the general assembly, which had been held at Missolonghi, had for some time broken up, and the chieftains had retired to their various districts, leaving none but the Suliotes in the town.

I found Lord Byron this morning much irritated at the affair of last night, and also at the retreat of the Greek fleet, which he thought might endanger the arrival of Mr. Parry, and of the money which he expected from Zante.

The city was in a state of confusion in consequence of the late quarrel: many people went so far as to say that it had been premeditated, and that treasonable machinations were on foot. Mavrocordato instituted a military commission, and arrested some of both parties concerned; amongst others, a primate. This measure somewhat calmed the agitation, and allayed the fears of the citizens.

January 20.—This morning neither the Greek nor the Turkish fleet ~~were~~ was in sight. At noon Lord Byron and myself went out on horseback. He conversed a long time with me on his expedition. The substance of what he said was as follows:

"I have not much hope of success; but "something may be done during these "months, if it be only to employ ourselves "and these troops, and keep them at least "from being idle and creating disturbances: "in the mean time, those principles which "are now in action in Greece will gradually "produce their effect, both here and in "other countries. I never was myself a "great admirer of the mere mechanical "soldier: he is too often the slave of the "caprice and selfishness of tyrants. Our

" wild troops here, which remind me of " what our highlanders must have been, " are more in my way, at least as a poet. " I am not, however, come here in search " of adventures, but to assist in the regeneration of a nation, whose very debasement makes it more honourable to " become their friend. Regular troops are " certainly necessary, but not in great " numbers: regular troops alone would not " succeed in a country like Greece; and " irregular troops alone are only just better " than nothing. Only let the loan be " raised, and in the mean time let us try " to form a strong national government, " ready to apply the pecuniary resources, " when they arrive, to the best objects— " the organisation of troops, the establishment of internal civilisation, and the " preparations for acting defensively now, " and on the offensive in the next winter. " Nothing is so insupportable to me as all

" these minute details, and these repeated " delays; but patience is indispensable, " and that I find the most difficult of all " attainments."

On our return, Mavrocordato had a long conference with my Lord. We then went into Colonel Stanhope's apartment, where our whole party was assembled, and we had some excellent music from the Germans, on their flutes; besides songs, accompanied with the guitar. Byron was fond of music in general; and he was partial to German music, particularly to their national songs.

January 21.—We were blockaded: ten Turkish ships of war were cruising in front of Missolonghi. We thought of some mode of driving them off. We had neither cannon, nor perhaps sailors, fit for gun-boats. As for a fireship, we had not the necessary materials; and, besides, the Turks now had began to be on their guard against that mode of attack. At last it came into our heads that we might attack them in boats by night, and at least damage their rigging, so as to drift them on the sands and rocks. All the Europeans present volunteered their services. Lord Byron insisted on being the first in the attack. He was so determined on this project, that we soon became aware of the folly of exposing such a person on such a desperate enterprise; and we did all in our power to induce him to abandon it: at last we succeeded, but it was with great difficulty, for he was now intent only upon exposing himself to danger, and was extremely jealous that any one should be more forward than himself. The Greeks had conceived a great respect for his personal prowess, to which, it must be owned, his daily amusement of pistol-shooting not a little contributed; for he

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fired with admirable precision at considerable distances—a skill which surprised the Greeks, whose firearms are of the coarsest make, and who never hit a mark except they almost touch it with the muzzle of their pistols.

January 22.—This morning Lord Byron came from his bedroom into the apartment where Colonel Stanhope and some friends were assembled, and said, with a smile, "You were complaining, the other day, that "I never write any poetry now:—this is "my birthday, and I have just finished "something, which, I think, is better than "what I usually write." He then produced those noble and affecting verses on his own birthday, which were afterwards found written in his journal, with only the following introduction:—*January 22: on this day I complete my thirty-sixth year.*

1.

'Tis time this heart should be unmoved,
Since others it hath ceased to move;
Yet, though I cannot be beloved,
Still let me love!

2.

My days are in the yellow leaf;
The flowers and fruits of love are gone;
The worm, the canker, and the grief
Are mine alone!

3.

The fire that on my bosom preys
Is lone as some volcanic isle;
No torch is kindled at its blaze—
A funeral pile!

4.

The hope, the fear, the jealous care,
The exalted portion of the pain
And power of love, I cannot share,
But wear the chain.

5.

But 'tis not *thus*—and 'tis not *here*—
Such thoughts should shake my soul, nor *now*,
Where glory decks the hero's bier,
Or binds his brow.

6.

The sword, the banner, and the field,
Glory and Greece, around me see!
The Spartan, borne upon his shield,
Was not more free.

7.

Awake! (not Greece—she *is* awake!)
Awake, my spirit! Think through *whom*
Thy life-blood tracks its parent lake,
And then strike home!

8.

Tread those reviving passions down,
Unworthy manhood! unto thee
Indifferent should the smile or frown
Of beauty be.

9.

If thou regret'st thy youth, *why live?*
The land of honourable death
Is here:—up to the field, and give
Away thy breath!

10.

Seek out—less often sought than found,
A soldier's grave—for thee the best;
Then look around, and choose thy ground,
And take thy rest.

We perceived from these lines, as well as from his daily conversations, that his ambition and his hope were irrevocably fixed upon the glorious objects of his expedition to Greece, and that he had made up his mind to "return victorious, or re-"turn no more." Indeed, he often said to me, "Others may do as they please—they "may go—but I stay here, *that is certain.*" The same determination was expressed in his letters to his friends; and this resolution was not unaccompanied with the very natural presentiment—that he should never leave Greece alive. He one day asked his faithful servant, Tita, whether he thought of returning to Italy? "Yes," said Tita; "if your Lordship goes, I go." Lord Byron smiled, and said, "No, Tita, I shall "never go back from Greece—either the "Turks, or the Greeks, or the climate, will "prevent that."—But to proceed with my narrative.

It was proposed to send some one to Cephalonia to advise Mr. Parry of our position. The plan was to pass the Turkish fleet in the night: a boat was soon found; we all offered our services; Mr. Hesketh was fixed upon. He was directed, if he found Parry in the Ionian Islands, to desire him to proceed first to Calamo, thence to Petala, and to Dragomestri, where he could disembark his stores, and send them by canal-boats to Missolonghi in spite of the Turks. He was also to provide himself, in Cephalonia, with materials for constructing a fireship. We wished to take this opportunity of sending our Turkish prisoner to the Ionian Islands, but the man was afraid to leave our protection. He had heard of the Turks killed at Ithaca, and all our entreaties were in vain. Mr. Hesketh set off.

January 23.—A foreign brig of war passed the Turkish cruisers, and anchored off Missolonghi. In two hours a boat put to shore with three English officers of the navy. They came to ask satisfaction for an Ionian boat that had been taken by a Greek privateer under Patras. As the Ionian government had acknowledged the Greek blockade, it was thought a good prize. The captain answered, that no blockade could be recognised, except it were an effectual blockade; and that five ships against fourteen could not be so deemed. He came therefore to recover the prize, or to make reprisals—such were his orders: he would come back to-morrow. Some Turkish prisoners being at this time confined at Missolonghi, Lord Byron requested the government that they might be given up to him, and that he might send them to Yussuff Pacha. The object of this measure was apparent; he had hopes that such conduct might tend to soften the ferocity which had occasionally distinguished the treatment of the Turkish prisoners;

and to induce both Turks and Greeks to regulate themselves by the usages of civilised warfare, rather than according to the sanguinary retaliation which marks the struggle between a master and a slave.

Lord Byron, when he sent the four Turkish prisoners to Yussuff Pacha, transmitted to him at the same time the following letter:

"Missolonghi, 23d of January, 1824.

"To his Highness Yussuff Pacha, governor of "the provinces of Ardin and Iavichan, and "commander of the Ottoman forces in the "Castles, &c. &c.

"Highness,

"A vessel in which a friend and some domestics of "mine were embarked was detained a short time ago, "and released by order of your Highness. I have now "to thank you, not for liberating the vessel, which, as "carrying a neutral flag, and being under British pro"tection, no one had a right to detain, but for treating "my friends with so much kindness whilst they were in "your hands. In the hope, therefore, that it may not be

“ altogether displeasing to your Highness, I have re-
“ quested the governor of this place to release four Turk-
“ ish prisoners, and he has humanely consented to do so.
“ I lose no time, therefore, in sending them back, in order
“ to make as early a return as I can to your late courtesy.
“ These prisoners are liberated without any conditions; but
“ should the circumstance find a place in your recollec-
“ tion, I venture to beg that your Highness will treat
“ such Greeks as may henceforth fall into your hands
“ with humanity, more especially, since the horrors of
“ war are sufficiently great in themselves, without being
“ aggravated by wanton cruelties on either side.

(Signed) “ NOEL BYRON.”

January 24.—Perpetual rain. Our brigade of artillery commenced their exercise in something like good order, and with a fair prospect of making the necessary progress. We had more offers of recruits than we could accept of. My Lord was busily employed writing letters: he was in bad spirits and temper, the effect of the weather, which kept him within doors, and his health was visibly impaired by the want of active exercise. Some of the Suliotes of those who were in the fray the day before yesterday left the town for Arta. Cariascachi set out for Agrafa, to carry on the war, as he said, against the Turks; but we suspected, against *Lango* his rival, to whom had been given the captainship of a district, which Cariascachi desired to have. The pretensions and jealousies of these two men gave great uneasiness to my Lord. This day we published the first number of our Greek newspaper.

January 25.—My Lord was in better health and spirits. Colonel Stanhope informed Mr. Meyer that unless something was quickly resolved upon respecting the expedition, Byron would take some decisive step, and depart either for Athens or for Cranidi, where the legislative body were assembled. About one o'clock in the afternoon, Mavrocordato came, and announced to my Lord, that at last the expedition was in readiness: he read the commission which he would be requested to accept. Lord Byron was to have full powers both civil and military; but he was to be accompanied by a military council, composed of the most experienced chieftains, of which Nota Bozzari was to be the head. He was to have the nomination of his own staff out of the European officers in the Greek service. To myself was to be confided the command of the Suliotes, who were to act immediately under his Lordship's orders. The number of the troops altogether was to amount to three thousand. Colonel Stanhope thought that my Lord should not accept this commission, but repair to the scene of action, and there direct every thing with his councils, so as to acquire that preponderating influence which he might afterwards employ for the general service of the state. Lord Byron replied, that if he spared neither sacrifices, fatigues, nor dangers, he should then think himself in the best way of acquiring influence.

January 26. — Captain Yorke, of the English gun-brig Alacrity, came on shore with two officers, and they were presented by Colonel Stanhope to my Lord, who received them with the utmost courtesy. Captain Yorke had orders to demand satisfaction, not only for the prize lately taken under Patras, but also for many previous infractions of the neutrality of the Ionian flag. Byron had long predicted that this would be the case, and had expressed himself surprised at the moderation of the Ionian government, using at the same time every argument to convince the Greeks how much it was their interest to keep on good terms with the European powers, and particularly with the Ionian authorities. It was only a few hours before Captain Yorke's arrival that he had occasion to answer the petition of the two Greek captains of privateers, who had taken the boat under Patras, and who endeavoured to persuade my Lord that she was a good prize, sanctioned by the Greek tribunals, and that he ought not to call upon them to relinquish her. Lord Byron instantly returned the following answer:

"Lord Byron replies to the subscribers of the pe-
"tition, that doubtless he feels himself interested in the
"restoration of the Ionian boat, the Don Giovanni; but
"that he is so solely for the sake of the Greek govern-
"ment, and of the Greeks themselves, who, unless they
"comply, will rush headlong into a most dangerous con-
"troversy with the Ionian government, and with the
"English, of which the beginning alone can as yet
"be seen. Over the decision of the tribunals, Lord
"Byron has not, nor pretends to have, the slightest in-
"fluence. The judges and the law must decide accord-
"ing to the code. Lord Byron has confined himself to
"doing that which is his particular duty, which in this
"case was to represent to the Greek government the
"inevitable consequences of their proceedings with re-
'spect to the Ionian flag. Lord Byron neither has, nor
"can have, any personal interest for one side or the
"other."

Byron read this letter to Captain Yorke, and convinced him what pains he took to instil into the Greeks a prudent observance of the Ionian neutrality. He then began to joke about his expedition, which, however, he said he was resolved upon undertaking. Captain Yorke said, that he would bring his brig off Lepanto, to give refuge to the fugitives, whether Greeks or Turks. "For Heaven's sake," replied Byron, "don't "come; for, if they are sure of a place of "safety, all my troops will run away." He continued some time laughing with Captain Yorke at his intended military command, and observed (alluding to his lameness) that he had one requisite of a general, He, at least, could not run away. The fact is, that although Lord Byron was seriously intent upon the great object of his journey to Greece, and had calmly resolved to accomplish it or to die, yet such was his fear of being taken for an empty enthusiast, that he lost no opportunity of showing that he was not blind even to what might be called the ridicule of his position; and to prevent others laughing, he indulged his humorous propensities, and began by laughing at himself. He observed to me, "It is odd enough that "Stanhope, the soldier, is all for writing "down the Turks; and I, the writer, am "all for fighting them down." Mavrocordato being confined to his bed by a bad cold, Lord Byron accompanied Captain Yorke to his house, and after a long discussion, in which my Lord interpreted between them, the captain positively declared that he could not return without some satisfaction. The price of the merchandise taken in the boat was 400 dollars: the captain said he would take 200 dollars, but he must have them in three hours, otherwise he could not answer for the consequences. The captain and his officers then retired to breakfast with Lord Byron, and they afterwards amused themselves with him by firing at a mark with pistols. Mavrocordato wrote a letter, protesting against the demands of the captain; but, in order to avoid extremities, promised himself to pay the money in eight days. The delay was refused; Lord Byron offered to pay the money himself, but Captain Yorke would not accept it from him. At last, my Lord secretly contrived to transmit the sum to a secretary of the government, who paid it to the captain, and so finished the affair. This evening there took place between my Lord and Colonel Stanhope that dispute, which the gentleman who edited the colonel's letters from Greece has thought proper to make public. It is to be regretted, however, that the narrative closes before the excellent colonel has the opportunity of relating the last words which fell from Lord Byron in this conversation. Stanhope accused Lord Byron of being an enemy to the liberty of the press; to which his Lordship replied, "And "yet, without my money, where would "your Greek newspaper be?"—and he concluded by the sentence already mentioned—"*Judge me by my actions, not by "my words.*"

The colonel could not relish, nor indeed understand Lord Byron's pleasantry, especially when directed against Mr. Bentham's political theories: the more his Lordship laughed, the more serious the colonel became; and the discussion seldom ended without a strong reproof, which irritated his Lordship for the moment; but so far from leaving any unfavourable impression, increased his regard for an antagonist of so much truth and sincerity. When parting from him one evening, after a discussion of this nature, Lord Byron went up to him and exclaimed, "*Give me that honest right* "*hand.*" Two such men were worthy of being friends, and it is to be lamented that an injudicious partisan of the one should, by a partial detail of their trifling differences, try to raise him at the expense of the other.

January 27.—Nothing particular happened this morning; but at nine in the evening we had a messenger from Mr. Parry—a young Englishman of the name of Humphreys, who had been in Greece before with Colonel Gordon. He told us that the ship Anna, with Mr. Parry and the stores sent by the English Greek committee, was waiting in Ithaca for the orders of Lord Byron and Colonel Stanhope. Our answer was, that we were blockaded in Missolonghi; that he should come to Dragomestri; there he would disembark his stores, and then dismiss his vessel on her way to Alexandria. We would send him two cannoneers and a hundred soldiers by land, to protect him.

Mr. Humphreys went back with the answer the same night. It seems, the Anna had been detained three weeks at Malta, and ten days at Corfu: what a loss of invaluable time! Byron received this evening many letters from England, all of them full of good news of his affairs and of his friends; this made him in high spirits.

January 28.—The most commodious building in the whole town that we could convert into a military laboratory or arsenal was an old seraglio, which had been allotted for quarters to some of the Suliotes. Since December, the government had promised Colonel Stanhope to give it up to him for the use of Mr. Parry. We had great difficulty in forcing them to keep their word, for the Suliotes would not quit their quarters; but we insisted, and they gave way. After our business was concluded, we took a ride with my Lord. Since the first day of our arrival, we had been obliged to give up riding through the city gate; for not only the streets were almost impassable, but the gateway was so choked up with mud, that even were it left unguarded, I think the enemy would have had some difficulty in forcing a passage. We had therefore a contrivance to avoid the streets, for we rowed about half a mile in a canoe till we came to where our horses waited for us. A mile from the city was a grove of olives, where the ground was sound enough to allow of our going at a good pace.

My Lord received letters from Ulysses, proposing a congress at Salona, which is only two days' journey from Lepanto. Ulysses is one of those chieftains, whose adherence to the national government and the common cause we were aware was of the utmost importance.

January 29.—The Turkish squadron returned into the Gulf; but our Speziot friends were nowhere to be seen; they had gone home; so that although our blockade was at end, our naval force had vanished also.

Mavrocordato spoke to me of the difficulty of uniting the Suliotes into a single body: there were six heads of families amongst them, all of whom had equal pretensions both by their birth and their exploits, and neither of whom would obey either of his comrades. They did not make so much difficulty of obeying a stranger, and consented to act under my orders, as lieutenant to Lord Byron. Our friend Draco declared he would serve as a common soldier under Lord Byron, but that the honour of his family, unsullied for three hundred years, forbade him to serve under his equals, Bozzari or Giavella. The rain prevented our riding to-day. Lord Byron received a letter from Londo, an old friend of his, living at Vostizza, on the Gulf. Londo was one of the principal proprietors in the Morea, at the time of the Turks, when Byron travelled there in 1809. He was one of the first to raise the standard of the cross; and he has always served his countrymen with zeal, valour, and disinterestedness. One of his principal merits is, that he has, more than any other chieftain, contrived to preserve some discipline amongst his troops, and has persuaded them to undergo labours which the Greek soldiers held in especial abhorrence. He was now one of the chief supporters of the legislative body and of the new national government, which seemed to be making considerable progress in the Morea.

Lord Byron was much gratified by the receipt of the letter from Londo, and talked to me a good deal of his visit to him in 1809: Londo was then lively, and indeed childish; and, to the no small amusement of his household, endeavoured to rival his English guests in several rough games, such as jumping over chairs and tables, in which his long robes much impeded his progress, and added to the laughter of his friends. But, under this almost infantine exterior, he cherished a mature spirit of patriotism, which occasionally burst through the restraints of despotism; and one day whilst playing draughts with Lord Byron, on the name of Riga being pronounced, he leaped from the table, and, violently clapping his hands, commenced the famous song of that unfortunate patriot—

> Sons of the Greeks, arise!
> The glorious hour's gone forth.

Lord Byron answered his letter himself, in the following terms:

"Caro amico,

"Mi è stato gratissimo il vedere i vostri caratteri. "La Grecia fu per me sempre, come per tutti gli uomini "di qualche sentimento ed educazione, la terra pro-"messa del valore, delle arti e della libertà: e il viag-"giare nella mia gioventù fra le sue rovine per certo non "aveva rafreddato il mio amore per la patria degli eroi: "ma oltre cio' io ho verso di voi doveri di amicizia "e di riconoscenza per la ospitalità che esercitaste meco "durante il mio soggiorno nel paese di cui ora siete di-"venuto uno dei primi difensori ed ornamenti. Il rive-"derci servendo la vostra patria al vostro fianco e sotto "i vostri occhj sarà per me uno dei momenti più felici "della mia vita. Intanto nella fiducia di rivederci "quanto prima sono vostro devot.

"N. BYRON."

January 30.—I had a letter from Praidi, telling me that the primates of Anatolico invited my Lord to pay them a visit on next Sunday, the day after to-morrow. Lord Byron accepted the invitation: he wrote some letters, attended to some private business, and afterwards rode out.

January 31.—Mavrocordato paid a long visit to Byron. It must not be supposed that their conversations on all occasions turned on nothing but public affairs: on the contrary, they talked now and then upon general topics, and I remember very well, that one evening when they were together, they had a sort of trial of skill as to their recollection of Turkish history. Mavrocordato is esteemed very accomplished in this particular, and tried Byron on the genealogy of the Ottoman emperors. Wherever there was any difference of opinion, we always found, on reference, that Byron was right: his memory, indeed, was surprisingly accurate. He said "The Turkish history was one of the "first books that gave me pleasure when "a child; and I believe it had much in-"fluence on my subsequent wishes to visit "the Levant, and gave, perhaps, the ori-"ental colouring which is observed in my "poetry."

We visited the place chosen for the artillery exercise. From the good order and good conduct which soon became observable in our little corps, we were able to draw very favourable inferences as to the facility of forming a regular Greek army, if we had only means to pay them punctually: but, at this time, such was the distress of the government at Missolonghi, that if Lord Byron had not guaranteed the payment of the expenses necessary for the disembarkation of the stores from on board the Anna, it would have been impossible to secure the laboratory and the other mechanical supplies, which the committee had sent to us from London. On another occasion, the primates of Missolonghi would not or could not supply Byron's Suliote brigade with bread; and sent word to him, that if they sent a little good bread for his officers, they could send only bad bread for his men.

We had this day a messenger from Dragomestre, informing us that Mr. Parry was arrived, and was employed in disembarking his stores; an important event for us.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Byron's visit to Anatolico—His reception there—Return to Missolonghi—Arrival of Mr. Parry, with the stores of the London Greek committee—Interview and arrangement with the Suliote chieftains—News from the Morea—Letter from Lord Byron to Lord Sidney Osborne—Proceedings at the Seraglio—News from Patras, and communication with Lepanto—Proceedings with the Suliotes—Intrigues of the Moreote chiefs—difficulties with the Suliotes—Lord Byron attacked by a convulsive fit—Alarm at the Seraglio—Lord Byron releases twenty-four Turkish prisoners—Destruction of a Turkish brig—Captain Sasse killed by a Suliote—Disturbance with the Suliotes—The primates visit Lord Byron—Proposal from Ulysses to Lord Byron—The artillery brigade.

February 1.—At 10 o'clock in the morning, we set out for Anatolico, in one of the flat-bottomed boats with which they navigate the shallows: we arrived there in three hours. It is an island in the midst of marshes, but the water is deeper than round Missolonghi: some low hills, covered with olive trees, bound the eastern shore of the bay, and the high mountains of Roumelia approach it to the north. The day was clear, the air temperate, and the view on one side at least very picturesque. Half a mile distant from the town we saw the plain, where two months ago were encamped the Pacha of Scutari, and Omer Vrioni, with an army which amounted in the whole to twenty-four thousand, the greater part of them cavalry. Observing as we did the wretched little town which, with two or three ill-served cannons, and a garrison of a few hundred half-armed citizens, had defied such a powerful host, we formed no very formidable idea of the Ottoman power. The whole mischief inflicted by the shells and shot of the besiegers amounted only to the destruction of a few cabins and old houses. We were shown one house, the highest perhaps in the whole town, at which the Turks had fired at least two hundred times, without striking it once.

As we approached the shore, an immense crowd of armed men, who were collected at our place of disembarkation, saluted us with salvos of musketry and discharges of artillery. As usual, the balls whistled at no great distance above our heads, and a cannon shot passed within three yards of our boat-head. We landed at one of the principal houses of the town, where we found the Archbishop Porfiri and all the primates in readiness to receive us. It was a day of ceremony, appointed for the inauguration of the city prefect, one Suzzo, of Constantinople, a courteous and well-informed young man. After many speeches very complimentary but very sincere on both sides, they set before us an excellent dinner of fine fish, an English plum-pudding, and good champaign.

My Lord was afterwards conducted to the church of St. Michael, and had pointed out to him what the Greeks of Anatolico consider a miracle. At the beginning of the siege, a shell from a mortar fell on this church, killed the mother of the curate, and, burying itself in the floor, opened a spring of water, which, as it happened, was of the greatest service to the besieged, who before that time were obliged to repair to a well near the shore, with no little difficulty and danger. During the whole of our walk to the church, we were accompanied by a multitude, who anxiously testified their delight by shouts and wild music, and the usual discharge of musketry. We particularly remarked that the women (which, in the East, is the most decisive sign of congratulation) stood at their balconies, clothed in their most magnificent dresses, and saluted my Lord as he passed. We were struck by the good looks and healthy appearance of the inhabitants, which we hardly expected in a town in the midst of marshes. Lord Byron resolved to return to Missolonghi, although the primates and Mavrocordato used their best endeavours to induce him to remain until the next day. The Prince did stay, but my Lord went back, and during two hours of our journey we were annoyed by very heavy rains.

February 2, 3, 4, 5.—Several boats arrived with various articles belonging to the laboratory, from Dragomestre. At last, the Suliotes evacuated the Seraglio prepared to receive these utensils. On the morning of the 4th of February, however, which happened to be a holiday (of which there are more in Greece than there are working days), a great portion of the chests was still lying on the beach, exposed to a violent rain, and we could not procure any porters to convey them to a place of shelter. Byron lost all patience, and running himself down to the beach, he began to work with his own hands; so that what with his reproofs and his example, he contrived at last to overcome the indolence and the superstition of the people, and got the goods under cover.

At noon on the 5th, Mavrocordato came back from Anatolico; and at four o'clock of the same day, Mr. Parry arrived with the remainder of the stores, and the individuals who accompanied him. There were eight mechanics, four officers (volunteers), of whom two were English, one German, and one Swede, besides several Greeks.

February 6, 7, 8.—Mr. Parry was employed in the disposing of his stores in the Seraglio. A meeting was held, at which

Colonel Stanhope presided, to take account of the articles brought by Parry, and also to determine upon those which might be of service upon our expedition. It turned out that there were no Congreve rockets, and that it would require two months, and no small expense, to prepare any; so that all our hopes, and the expectations of the Greeks, who had thought wonders would be produced by these fireworks, vanished at once. The Greek fleet, too, was gone: in short, our only remaining dependence was from a siege and a capitulation. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Lord Byron resolved not to abandon the enterprise. We were busy in appointing a sort of staff amongst the European officers, of whom now there was a considerable number. Ten Germans, who had served two years in Greece, and who now had no other duty, offered to accompany Byron as a body guard: they were accepted.

February 8.—The Suliote chieftains, Bozzari, Giavella, Draco, and the others, had a meeting at Lord Byron's with Mavrocordato. They all consented to serve under his "most illustrious Excellency;" they still cherished the same jealousies as to one another. I was appointed, together with a commissary of the government, to look over the list, and to separate the true from the pretended Suliotes. We determined that the corps should consist of six hundred, under Bozzari and Giavella; that the real Suliotes should have the preference; but that if there were any wanting to fill up the number, those from the neighbourhood, who had been their companions in arms, should be selected for that purpose. We resolved to march in a few days.

We had good news from the Morea. The legislative body had published a manifesto, in which they declared their reasons for degrading the former executive council, who, they proved, had infringed ten principal articles of the Hellenic constitution. Those composing that body appeared more embarrassed every day; but fear was nevertheless entertained that they were approaching Napoli di Romania, in order to occupy that place.

February 9.—Colonel Stanhope now prepared himself for going into the Morea, in order to co-operate in the great work of appeasing the discords of that country. He was to give Lord Byron every information from time to time, whilst we were to be employed in the blockade of Lepanto.

Prince Mavrocordato wrote privately to Sir Thomas Maitland, to deprecate any bad consequences from the infraction of the neutrality of the Ionian territory at Ithaca; and Lord Byron enclosed this letter in the following, which he addressed to Lord Sidney Osborne:

"Missolonghi, February 9, 1824.

"Enclosed is a private communication from Prince "Mavrocordato to Sir Thomas Maitland, which you "will oblige me much by delivering. Sir Thomas can "take as much or as little of it as he pleases; but I hope "and believe that it is rather calculated to conciliate "than to irritate on the subject of the late event near "Ithaca and Sta Mauro; which there is every disposi-"tion on the part of the government here to disavow; "and they are also disposed to give every satisfaction in "their power. You must all be persuaded how difficult "it is, under existing circumstances, for the Greeks to "keep up discipline, however they may be all disposed "to do so. I am doing all I can to convince them of "the necessity of the strictest observance of the regu-"lations of the islands, and, I trust, with some effect. "I was received here with every possible public and pri-"vate mark of respect. If you write to any of our "friends, you can say that I am in good health and "spirits; and that I shall *stick* by the cause as long as "a man of honour can, without sparing purse, and (I "hope, if need be) *person*."

We were much occupied at the Seraglio with disposing of the articles belonging to the laboratory in such a manner as to render them serviceable for the artillery brigade. Nothing could be more striking than the sudden change of appearance in the building itself: whilst in the hands of the Suliotes, it bore every mark of indolence and neglect; but no sooner were the English artificers introduced than life and energy were communicated, as it were, to the very walls themselves; and we could scarcely recognise the barracks when appropriated to their new inmates.

February 10.—We took this opportunity of handing over the medicines, sent by the Quakers, to Dr. Millingen, in order to provide for the troops, and to form a dispensary for those in want of medical assistance. Mr. Parry, as director of the laboratory, was to be appointed commander of the artillery brigade; but Mr. Kinderman, a Prussian officer, thinking it beneath him to serve under a fire-master (such was Parry's original rank), waited on Lord Byron to give up his commission. Lord Byron did all he could to dissuade him; and he joked him not a little on the quarterings of his German escutcheon, and on the folly of introducing his prejudices into a country like Greece. "As for myself," said Byron, "I should be perfectly ready to serve as a "common soldier, under any body, if it be "thought of any good to the cause." Mr. Kinderman, however, was not to be persuaded, and withdrew from us; but all the other Germans remained. We added to the number of our brigade, and had before us the prospect of being, in a very short time, capable of manœuvring at least the cannon which were sent out with the laboratory. Byron paid a visit to the new establishment, and to the exercising ground;

and was much occupied, this day, in conferences with Mavrocordato.

February 11.—We heard the news of the death of Sir Thomas Maitland. The Frankfort Gazette asserted that there were public rejoicings on the occasion at Missolonghi. That calumny has been already contradicted. Two Greeks, escaped from Patras, brought us intelligence that the quarrels there were continual, and that much blood had been shed in affrays between the European and Asiatic Turks. Yussuff Pacha himself had been obliged to interfere in person, and had with great difficulty appeased the combatants. From Lepanto we heard that the Albanians had made themselves masters of the castle; had pointed the cannon against the town, and had demanded the arrears of their pay. It was reported, that they would surrender to Lord Byron the moment he appeared with the Greek forces under the walls; for, besides their own dissensions, our cause was forwarded by the exaggerated accounts which prevailed in the Turkish quarters of the extent of our means.

Lord Byron sent this day a messenger to Zante for another supply of money, which might be necessary in our intended expedition; for we now learnt that one of our spies had contrived to have a conference with one of the Albanian chieftains in Lepanto; and that this person had assured him that the troops would surrender to Lord Byron, provided they could be secure of their lives and of their arrears of pay.

In consequence of this intelligence, we took every step that our circumstances would admit of. A corps of 1500 men, under several chieftains, were sent two days in advance, to wait for our arrival, and to provide for our forces. Our remaining care was to get our Suliote corps into good order, and to discipline our cannoneers. As for artillery, supposing that to be necessary, we were to send for a battering train from the citadel of Corinth.

February 12, 13.—I was occupied during these days in carefully examining into the state of our Suliote corps, and in reducing their numbers to an effective body of soldiers, after sending away those who were too young or too old, or too infirm. In many instances I found in the lists names of persons who were nowhere to be seen. This was a common device of theirs when serving in the wars against Ali Pacha, and the same deceit prevails in all the Turkish armies; so that a body of troops which appears upon paper to amount to thirty or forty thousand is often not more than a third of that number. The chieftains receive the pay for the complete force, and put the difference into their own pockets. The Greeks, at the beginning of their struggle, had been exposed to the same deception; but a little regularity would soon remedy the evil.

The greatest number of the Suliotes were followers of Constantine Bozzari, whose conduct was more satisfactory than that of the other chiefs; but even the number of those followers was far from being permanently arranged; for as each captain was anxious to increase his own importance by adding to his own troops, he left no means untried to seduce the dependents of other chieftains; so that it often happened that six or twelve soldiers, who were yesterday under Giavella, were to-day followers of Bozzari. We did all in our power to remedy this evil. At last, all our difficulties seemed at an end. We agreed to assemble the whole body of the Suliotes the next day, to read to them the agreement mutually made between themselves and with us, and to give them a month's pay in advance. The day afterwards, I was to march with the vanguard of 300 of them, and take up a position under Lepanto. Lord Byron and Prince Mavrocordato were informed of the result of the inspection of the Suliotes; and the latter confessed to me that they had been the source of infinite disquietude to him; and that although they certainly were amongst the bravest of the Greek tribes, at the same time they were the most discontented and intractable.

February 14.—This morning Lord Byron received letters from the legislative body, and from the new executive council. They informed him that Pietro Bey and his friends were gathered together at Tripolizza, and appeared resolved to back their pretensions by open force, notwithstanding that the government had taken every precaution to frustrate their efforts. The factious had, we learnt, taken care to spread all sorts of ridiculous rumours respecting us and our intentions; one of them was, that Mavrocordato was about to invade the Morea with ten thousand men, and then to sell that country to the English. Another story was, that Lord Byron, in fact, was not an Englishman, but a Turk, under a false name, who had invented a deep-laid scheme with Mavrocordato for the ruin of Greece. We laughed heartily at this singular mode of outwitting an antagonist in politics. But the arrival of many Suliotes from the Morea, where they had served under Colocotroni, made us suspect that these men had been sent to Missolonghi to add to our previous dissensions. According to appointment, I had this morning another meeting with the Suliote chieftains, in presence of Mavrocordato; and, after a tedious discussion, these persons withdrew, and promised to send me their definitive answer in three hours. At five in the afternoon their answer did arrive. They required that the government should appoint, out of their number, two generals, two colonels, two captains, and inferior officers in the same proportion; in short, that out of three or four hundred actual Suliotes, there should be about one hundred and fifty above the rank of common soldiers. Their object, of course, was to increase their pay. Mavrocordato was disgusted with their impudent dishonesty, and Lord Byron burst into a violent passion, and protested that he would have no more to do with these people. We afterwards found out that these demands had been instigated by a messenger secretly sent by Colocotroni, who had promised great advantages to the Suliotes if they would abandon Mavrocordato and join his party. What was still more distressing to us was the discovery that this very spy of Colocotroni had been one of those whom Lord Byron had relieved in Cephalonia, where, indeed, we had already seen enough of the conduct of the Suliotes to give us no favourable impression of their character. Each step that we took in Greece convinced us of the indispensable necessity of forming a body of regular troops.

February 15.—This morning Mavrocordato sent for me: I found him with Nota Bozzari, who did not scruple to throw all the blame of the indecent conduct of his countrymen upon those who had arrived recently from the Morea. Shortly afterwards, all the other chieftains entered the room: I told them at once, on the part of Lord Byron, that his Lordship was glad that he had in time discovered that their discords could not by any means be appeased; and that the most artless intriguer was capable of making them abandon all their intentions, and break all their promises. Had his Lordship discovered this a little later, perhaps the cause of Greece and his own character might have been compromised. He had hoped that what he had done for them might have gained their confidence; and he had intended other efforts in their favour. Now, however, he was resolved to have nothing more to do with them as a body, although he neither repented what he had done for them, nor would discontinue to relieve their families. I concluded by telling them that I was ordered by Lord Byron to say that every agreement between him and the Suliotes was to be considered as null and void. Constantine Bozzari replied, that he lamented their discords, and more particularly on account of the disgust and disquietude which they must have caused to a person to whom all Greece, and peculiarly his fellow-countrymen, were under so many obligations, and regarded, indeed, as their father. But he confessed that these dissensions were too old and inveterate to be speedily cured, and that they would probably continue; but not so as to prevent them from fighting for their country, far less to cause them to forget the benefits received from Lord Byron. They were perfectly aware of what they lost by their misconduct. As to himself, he added, that he would remain if only five men remained with him, and would serve under his Lordship as a common soldier. At last we came to this conclusion: that a new corps should be raised, no matter from what tribe, composed of six hundred, as before agreed upon; that Bozzari should command three hundred, and that the other three hundred should be commanded by a captain of Lord Byron's naming: in fine, that the whole body should act under the immediate orders of his Lordship and his lieutenant.

I carried this proposition to Lord Byron, who thought it, on the whole, the best that could be now adopted; but he was exceedingly vexed at the necessary abandonment of his present project against Lepanto, at the time that the success of it seemed so probable. He had not been able to ride to-day, nor for some days before, on account of the rain. He had been extremely annoyed at the vexations caused by the Suliotes, as also with the various other interruptions from petitions, demands, and remonstrances, which never left him a moment's peace at any hour of the day. At seven in the evening I went into his room on some business, and found him lying on the sofa: he was not asleep, and seeing me enter, called out, " I am not asleep— " come in—I am not well."

At eight o'clock, he went down stairs to visit Colonel Stanhope. The conversation turned upon our newspaper. We agreed that it was not calculated to give foreigners the necessary intelligence of what was passing in Greece; because, being written in Romaic, it was not intelligible, except to a few strangers. We resolved to publish another, in several languages, and Lord Byron promised to furnish some articles himself. When I left the room, he was laughing and joking with Mr. Parry and the colonel;—he was drinking some cider.

I had scarcely got away before I was overtaken by one of his guards, out of breath, who told me that my Lord had been seized with a violent convulsion fit.

I ran back, and found him in bed, with the medical men about him: he was recovered, but still very weak. For a short time the greatest alarm had prevailed. I learnt from those who were with him at the time, that, as he was sitting on a sofa, joking with Parry, and had a glass of cider and water in his hand, they remarked a sudden change of countenance come over him: he complained of a pain in his knee, and tried to stand up, but could not walk. At that moment the change of countenance became more remarkable: he found himself fainting, and fell upon Colonel Stanhope's bed. He then lost his speech, and was dreadfully convulsed, so much so, that two strong men, Parry and his servant Battista, could scarcely hold him down. His features were distorted. The doctors came to him, and in three minutes he recovered his senses and his speech. He was carried up stairs to his own bed, and at that time complained only of weakness. No distortion of the features was now observable. As soon as he could speak, he showed himself perfectly free from all alarm; but he very coolly asked, whether his attack was likely to prove fatal? "Let me know," he said. "Do not think I am afraid to die—I am "not." He told me that when he lost his speech he did not lose his senses; that he had suffered great pain, and that he believed, if the convulsion had lasted a minute longer, he must have died. The same sentiment is expressed in the journal which he wrote two days after the fit, in which he breaks off the account he was then putting upon record, in order to notice the news of a Turkish brig being stranded near Missolonghi. This event seems to have made him at once forget his own calamity. It is impossible to do justice to the coolness and magnanimity which he displayed upon every trying occasion. Upon trifling occasions he was certainly irritable; but the aspect of danger calmed him in an instant, and restored to him the free exercise of all the powers of his noble nature. A more undaunted man in the hour of peril never breathed. The attack had been brought on principally by the vexations which I have before dwelt upon; but his mode of living was also in part a cause of this fit. He ate nothing but fish, cheese, and vegetables; having regulated his table so as not to cost more than forty-five paras. This he did to show that he could live on fare as simple as that of the Greek soldiers. The weather had prevented him from using exercise, and we repeatedly remonstrated with him on the necessity of some change in his habits. We felt a most painful alarm at the very suspicion of any serious danger to him; but we flattered ourselves with the notion that if we could contrive to get him into the open air, and even renew those violent exercises which had agreed so well with him formerly, he would not experience any bad consequences from his late attack. Lord Byron's fit had not taken place more than half an hour, when a false alarm was brought to us that the Suliotes had taken to their arms, and were about to attack the Seraglio, in order to seize upon our powder and cannon, and other magazines. We ran to our arsenal: Parry ordered the artillery-men under arms; our cannon were loaded and pointed on the approaches to the gates; the sentinels were doubled.

This alarm had originated with two Germans, who, having taken too much wine, and seeing a body of soldiers with their guns in their hands, proceeding towards the Seraglio, had at once thought that a revolution was at hand, and spread their news over the whole town. The fact was, these troops were merely changing quarters. These Germans were so inconsiderate, that whilst we were at the arsenal, they forced their way into Byron's bedchamber, swearing that they came to defend him and his house. Fortunately, we were not present; for, as this was so short a time after his Lordship's attack, we should have been tempted to fling the intruders out of window.

February 16.—My Lord was better today, and he got up at noon; but he was very pale and weak, and he had a sensation of weight in his head. The doctors applied eight leeches to his temples, and the blood flowed very copiously: it was stopped with difficulty, and he fainted. However, he made a joke of his fit, notwithstanding it was far from a subject of pleasantry with us, who knew how much depended on the health of Lord Byron.

We had some more news from Lepanto: the Albanians had had another interview with our messenger, and had expressed themselves ready to give up the castle to my Lord. Indeed, they added, that they would bring about the surrender of the castles of the Morea and Patras: but this was only to increase their credit with us.

The fortifications of Missolonghi being very much in want of repair, Parry undertook to put the city into a perfect state of defence for 1000 dollars, as also to repair the fortress of Basiladi, which, from its position in the shallows, might be considered as the key of Missolonghi. The magistrates accepted the offer, and agreed to give 1500 dollars towards the completion of the work.

Another opportunity now occurred, by which Lord Byron was able to follow up his former efforts towards inculcating the principles and practice of humanity into both the nations engaged in the present struggle. There were two-and-twenty Turks, including women and children, who had been held in captivity in Missolonghi since the beginning of the Revolution. Lord Byron made a request to the government that they might be given up to him. It was granted; and my Lord, after providing them with what was requisite, sent them to Prevesa, with the following letter to Mr. Mayer, the English Consul at that port.

"Sir,

"Coming to Greece, one of my principal objects was "to alleviate as much as possible the miseries incident to "a warfare so cruel as the present. When the dictates "of humanity are in question, I know no difference be"tween Turks and Greeks. It is enough that those who "want assistance are men, in order to claim the pity and "protection of the meanest pretender to humane feelings. "I have found here twenty-four Turks, including women "and children, who have long pined in distress, far from

" the means of support and the consolations of their " home. The government has consigned them to me: I " transmit them to Prevesa, whither they desire to be " sent. I hope you will not object to take care that they " may be restored to a place of safety, and that the go- " vernor of your town may accept of my present. The " best recompense I can hope for would be to find that " I had inspired the Ottoman commanders with the same " sentiments towards those unhappy Greeks who may " hereafter fall into their hands.

" I beg you to believe me, &c.

" N. BYRON."

Amongst the Turks at Missolonghi there was a girl of eight or nine years of age, very lively and with handsome oriental features, who had lived for three years in the town upon the charity of the inhabitants. In the time of the Turks her family had been one of the most wealthy and powerful of the whole city; but when the Revolution broke out, her father made his escape, and was now with Yussuff Pacha. My Lord was struck with her pitiable condition, and took charge of her; and as at this time neither she nor her mother wished to be sent to Prevesa with their fellow-countrymen, he prepared to have them conveyed to the Ionian Islands, and thence either to England or to Italy, for her education. For this purpose he wrote to Dr. Kennedy of Cephalonia, requesting that his excellent lady would be so good as to undertake the care of the girl, at least for a few months.

February 17.—News was brought to us this morning that a Turkish brig of war had stranded upon a shoal of sand about seven miles from the city, and that many Greek boats manned with soldiers had set off in the hope of making a prize of her. After twelve o'clock, we went with Parry and some other European officers, to reconnoitre the brig, which we conjectured would turn out a prize of considerable value. A broad and long neck of land, separating the shallows from the sea, ran out towards the spot where the vessel was stranded, and we discovered that it would be easy to plant a couple of cannon under cover of this point, and to make ourselves masters of the brig. This day, with the assistance of Mavrocordato, I finally arranged with Constantine Bozzari and Kizzo Giavella, that they should enrol a troop of six hundred men belonging to any tribe they pleased, provided only that they were from Roumelia, where the people are better acquainted with mountain warfare, and more inured to fatigue, than in the Morea. The whole body were to be under the orders of Lord Byron.

February 18.—Early in the morning we prepared for our attack on the brig. Lord Byron, notwithstanding his weakness and an inflammation that threatened his eyes, was most anxious to be of our party; but the physician would not suffer him to go. Mavrocordato, Colonel Stanhope, Constantine Bozzari, and a considerable body of troops, rowed over to the neck of land in canoes across the shallows. In the mean time, Parry was putting in order his cannon and his artillery-men, which could not be embarked before noon. When we came up, we found three Turkish brigs from Patras, whose launches were making every effort to draw the vessel from the sand into deep water, but without effect. They then began to disarm the brig. We approached as near as we could, in order to interrupt their operations and to gain time: they fired a few vollies at us, but without doing any mischief. Unfortunately, as the tide was down, we could not bring up our guns until sunset: at last we heard a loud explosion, and saw the vessel in flames; for the Turks having taken out the crew and what they could save of the stores, had set fire to the brig. We passed the night in the boats. Such was the end of our expedition. Lord Byron had promised a reward for every Turk taken alive in the proposed attack on the vessel.

February 19.—In the morning, Colonel Stanhope returned to Missolonghi, whilst Mavrocordato and the others went some way round, in order to touch at Basiladi, where the Prince was expected to give the meeting to the captain of an English frigate, who had arrived the day before at Missolonghi, to complain as usual of the capture of some Ionian boats; and not finding the governor in the town, had appointed a conference with him at Basiladi the next day. This took place at nine in the morning; and leaving Mavrocordato with the English officers, I continued my route with Constantine Bozzari toward Missolonghi.

At eleven o'clock I arrived there. Entering the yard of our house, I remarked that Byron's two small cannon were pointed against the gateway: this was quite new. I went into the house; there was a dead silence in the apartments. I soon learnt the cause: there had been a fray between the Suliotes and our artillery-men. Sasse, one of our German officers, was mortally wounded. The Suliotes were in arms: it was thought they would attack the Seraglio, and perhaps even our own house: the city was in a great alarm. A council was immediately held with Lord Byron and Colonel Stanhope, and it was decided, either that all the Suliotes should depart from Missolonghi, or that my Lord and every foreigner would at once leave the town.

Lord Byron spoke of going to the Ionian Islands, and waiting the arrival of the deputies; both his personal safety (under these new circumstances) and his health seemed to require the change.

I ran to the arsenal—Sasse was no more. The guns were pointed against the doorway; all the Franks had retired thither; and the utmost sadness as well as anger prevailed in the whole party.

Many contradictory stories were told to me as to the manner in which this sad event had occurred; but I believe the truth to have been as follows:

A Suliote, formerly a friend of Marco Bozzari, and now a follower of his brother, much esteemed for his courage and his gentleness, came to the Seraglio (where he had lived for six months), with a little nephew of Bozzari, to show him our cannon and other instruments of warfare.

The guard at the door, one of our artillerymen, stopped him, saying he was not allowed to enter; and indeed such an order had been given, in order to keep off the crowd of curious Greeks, who would otherwise have impeded our operations. The Suliote answered, that he was one of the house, and tried to push forward. The serjeant, an Hungarian, ran up, took hold of him by the breast, and endeavoured to turn him away by force. The Suliote got into a rage, and gave him a blow: the serjeant was without arms, and called out for the guard. Sasse, who was the officer on guard, ran down stairs, and finding the serjeant struggling with the Suliote, drew his sword, and told him to arrest the intruder. The Suliote now wished to retire, but Sasse persisted in his arrest, and gave him a blow on the neck with the flat of his sword. The Suliote could contain himself no longer; he drew his attaghan, and wounded Sasse in his left arm, which he almost separated from his body. The serjeant contrived to open the pan of one of the pistols belonging to the Suliote, and to throw out the priming; but the man drew out the other, fired, and shot Sasse with three balls in the head, who fell lifeless, without speaking a word. The whole had passed in less time than I am telling the story. The artillery-men ran to the spot and arrested the Suliote, whose left hand it appeared had been wounded with more than one ball, although the second pistol had not been discharged, and no one had fired but himself; so that we concluded he must have shot himself with part of the charge that had wounded Sasse. Shortly after, his countrymen crowded in great numbers about the Seraglio, which they threatened to burn, unless the man was released. This was accordingly done, in order to prevent worse disasters.

Sasse survived only half an hour. He was universally esteemed as one of the best and bravest of the foreigners in the service of Greece.

The Suliotes now determined to leave the town; but this put an end to the enterprise against Lepanto. They talked of marching upon Arta, where they hoped to find considerable booty. They owned that they did not like to fight against stone walls. Lord Byron offered to give them a month's pay if they would go; and they might go where they pleased.

February 20.—This day the funeral of poor Sasse took place. He was buried with much ceremony in a grave between Marco Bozzari and General Normann. The Suliote chiefs attempted to lay all the blame of this accident on Sasse himself, whose imprudence indeed was scarcely to be justified: but at any rate, we were convinced that the best thing for us would be to get rid of these fierce mountaineers, who appeared altogether intractable. The primates came in a body to pay a visit to Lord Byron. They first inquired after his health; then condoled with him on the loss of Sasse, and concluded by requesting a loan of 3000 dollars, without which they said they could not be quit of these rude soldiers. Lord Byron granted their request, on condition that they would take care that the Suliotes actually did go; but, he added, that as for himself, he had resolved to abandon for the present his intention of engaging personally in some military enterprise.

My Lord went out riding. He was exceedingly vexed. "I begin to fear," said he to me, "that I have done nothing but "lose time, money, patience, and health; "but I was prepared for it: I knew that "ours was not a path of roses, and that I

" ought to make up my mind to meet with " deception, and calumny, and ingratitude."

I begged him most strenuously to pay a visit to Athens, for his health, and to relieve himself from his daily annoyances. " No," he replied, " no, they would not " leave me more tranquil there than here; " besides, I did not come here in search of " tranquillity; I am neither undeceived nor " discouraged. You know very well that " this enterprise of mine was only a se- " condary object; my first aim was to know " something of those soldiers. I think we " have gained that point at least. I must " wait here to see the turn that things take " in the Morea, and to receive news from " London. In the mean time we will for- " tify Missolonghi and Anatolico; and we " will see what sort of regular troops we " can make of the Greeks by accustom-

" ing them to discipline under foreign of-
" ficers."

February 21.—A fresh disappointment awaited Lord Byron; for this morning six of the artificers, who came out with Parry, declared their resolution to return to England. They said that they had bargained to be conducted into a place of safety. Byron tried to persuade them that the fray had been accidental; and that, after the departure of the Suliotes, nothing of the kind would happen again; besides that, as he staid, there could not be any serious danger. His arguments were useless: they said they had heard balls whistle over their heads whilst at work, and that they should be murdered. It was in vain to tell them that the firing of ball was a daily occurrence —they would go. But Mr. Parry remained, with only two men, who were rather assistants than artificers. This step made us fear that our laboratory would come to nothing; for if we tried to supply the place of the artificers with native Greeks, we should make but little progress.

About eight o'clock this evening we had a violent shock of an earthquake. This occasioned a general discharge of musketry throughout the town, according to a superstition of the Greeks on such occasions.

February 22.—A new plan was resolved upon for the reorganisation of our artillery corps. Lord Byron agreed to add to the funds provided for that object, so as to enable us to augment the number of our men. Part of these were to be trained to artillery exercise, the rest to the use of the musket, as a guard for the guns. We could not have a regular body of infantry, having no muskets with bayonets. Our object was twofold: if we should be disappointed of our means to create a larger body of regular troops, we might add a number of undisciplined forces, and Lord Byron could take the field with them in the spring. If, on the contrary, our succours arrived in time, we might then form a considerable corps of disciplined soldiers, upon the model of those already established. The government undertook to furnish rations for us. This evening Lord Byron suffered a slight return of his attack, in the right leg; but it quickly disappeared.

February 23 to 28.—We were much busied in preparing letters for the Ionian Islands, Italy, and England, which were to go by the artificers. The primates came in a body to visit my Lord again. Their visit had the usual object. They began with thanks and adulation, and then concluded with asking for more money. Lord Byron was tired of this way of going on; and not only refused them, but declared that, unless they put a stop to their importunities, he should be obliged, however against his will, to leave the country. They were mortified at his answer, and retired.

The weather was somewhat better. Lord Byron was able to renew his former long rides, and his health received a visible benefit from them. We feared, however, that he had adopted too abstemious a mode of living. He took no other food than vegetables and fish, and drank only water. He was always inclined to follow extremes. Parry found some Greek artificers, who enabled him to make some progress with his laboratory. Our artillery recruits were increased in number, and their exercises were performed with admirable promptitude and precision. There was no want of volunteers, so that we were able to select those whom we thought best suited for our purpose.

At this time Mr. Finlay, an English gentleman, came from Athens, having been eleven days on the road. He brought a message from Ulysses, and also from Mr. Trelawny, who acted as his aid-de-camp, to Lord Byron, and to Prince Mavrocordato. The purport of this message was to invite them to a conference at Salona. Ulysses was now understood to be extremely well-disposed to compose all his former differences with the government; and, being individually of much importance, it was expedient to give every attention to his proposal. He was at this time besieging Negropont and Caristo; and, with the exception of these fortresses, the remainder of the island of Eubœa was in his hands. His forces amounted to between 3000 and

4000 men. He requested a supply of Congreve's rockets, of powder, and cannon; but all we could do was to send him a few barrels of powder. Ulysses was formerly in the service of Ali Pacha; and even at this time his body-guard is composed of Mahometans. Since the beginning of the revolution he has served his country with zeal and energy, and a presence of mind which is his characteristic trait. He is accused of being ambitious; but avarice is not imputed to him. He determined to put the citadel of Athens into an excellent state of defence, and to provision it with equal care. The mode in which he accomplished this latter object is worth telling. The primates and the chiefs of the neighbouring province had confided that fortress to his care, but without assisting him to feed the garrison; for, when he applied to the inhabitants of the town and vicinity for provision, they would furnish him with none. Accordingly, he marched off half of his troops from the fortress, and gave out that they were gone to meet the enemy at only half a day's journey from Athens. At this news the inhabitants of the town ran with their stores as fast as possible into the Acropolis, and, before the stratagem was discovered, the citadel had provisions enough within its walls to last for a year.

February 28.—We had news from the Morea that their discords were almost at an end. The government was acquiring credit daily, and Staico and Coliopulo, relations and zealous partisans of Colocotroni, were observed to have daily conferences with those at the head of affairs. The Acrocorinthus was in the hands of Notorà, a chieftain attached to the government; so that, on the whole, the Greek affairs appeared to take as favourable an aspect as we could well desire.

Each day we had offers of service from some foreigner or the other, either of those who were still alive of the former Phil~~l~~elenic corps, or of travellers newly arrived in the country. Lord Byron admitted almost all of them, either into the artillery corps, or as a sort of chosen guard, thinking it of the utmost importance to engage as many officers as possible, in order to be prepared for disciplining the soldiery, when we should be able to augment the number of our regular forces. Thus we had them of all nations—English, Scotch, Irish, Americans, Germans, Swiss, Belgians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, Hungarians, and Italians. We were a sort of crusade in miniature. The word of command was given in Greek, but French and Italian were the languages in common use.

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My Lord and Prince Mavrocordato settled that, in a fortnight, they would go to Salona.

CHAPTER V.

News from the Morea—Lord Byron indisposed—Communication from the islands—Anxiety at Cephalonia respecting Lord Byron—He receives proposals from Sessini of Gastouni, and from Colocotroni—Also from Parucca on the part of Pietro Bey—His letter to Parucca—His view of the politics of Greece—Alarm of the plague—Offer from the government to appoint Lord Byron Governor-General of continental Greece—His reply—A public meeting at Missolonghi—Departure of Messrs. Finlay and Humphreys for Athens, with despatches from Lord Byron—Their interruption by the way—News of the conclusion of the Greek loan—Punishment of an artillery-man—Discipline of that corps—Lord Byron presented with the citizenship of Missolonghi—Distress of the government.

March 1.—This day we received news from the Morea. The government addressed letters to Lord Byron of the same tenor with the last. A young Irishman, Mr. Winter, arrived from Italy, bringing with him letters and many newspapers.

He was entered upon our list for the artillery brigade.

Lord Byron was indisposed. He complained to me that he was often attacked by vertigos, which made him feel as if intoxicated. He had also very disagreeable nervous sensations, which he said resembled the feeling of fear, although he knew there was no cause of alarm. The weather got worse, and he could not ride on horseback.

March 2.—Messrs. Hodges and Fawkes, who had been sent to the Ionian Islands, returned, having procured what was wanted. They brought us intelligence that the conduct of the Suliotes had excited a general indignation at Cephalonia, and that the consequence had been the withdrawing the succours afforded to their families in that island. We learnt also that the greatest anxiety prevailed amongst all the English respecting my Lord's health; and that Dr. Kennedy had been specially employed to write to Dr. Bruno for the purpose of making minute inquiry as to the fit with which Lord Byron had been assailed in February, as also in order to give such medical advice as might be expedient. Several correspondents wrote to Lord Byron also, praying him to return to Cephalonia and take care of his health; but these entreaties produced just the contrary effect, for in proportion as Byron thought his position more perilous, he the more resolved upon remaining where he was.

March 3.—Lord Byron was a little better, and was in good spirits. He not unfrequently diverted himself in the evening with playing off some pleasantry on some one of those about him. One of the Englishmen had been much alarmed at the earthquake, and had continual apprehensions of its return. Byron conceived a scheme for frightening him, and accordingly we rolled some barrels full of cannon-balls in the room above us, which completely succeeded, and terrified our companion as much as he had been at the real earthquake.

I should mention, that amongst our other disagreeable employments might be reckoned that of preventing duels between our German friends, who gave no better example of concord than our Suliote allies.

March 8.—We were occupied for some days as usual in visiting the fortifications, particularly at Basiladi, and in providing for their repairs. About this time, also, Sessini, who had for some months been master of the district about Gastouni, had recourse to Lord Byron to settle his differences with the government. Lord Byron consented to act as mediator, but he required, as proof of that chief's sincerity, that he should surrender the fortress of Chiarenza into the hands of the government.

We now learnt, that as soon as the Greeks of Arta had heard that the Suliotes were in march towards them, they had immediately sent to them, saying, that if their intention was to assist them in a permanent effort at gaining their independence, they would assist them with all their means; but that if the Suliotes had no other object than to obtain plunder, and then to leave them a prey to the vengeance of the Turks, the Greeks of Arta would resist to the utmost any such enterprise upon their town.

March 9.—A certain Lambro, a Suliote, and one of their chiefs, came from the Morea, the bearer of a complimentary message from Colocotroni to Lord Byron. That powerful chieftain signified to my Lord, that he was willing to submit to a regular inquiry into his conduct, seeing that his country would in the course of the year be exposed most probably to the most imminent perils, and that internal dissension might be the cause of her ruin. We did not think it worth while to canvass the sincerity of his professions, but we concluded from them that he found his influence on the decline.

March 10.—Lord Byron received, by way of Zante, a letter from one Parucca, the person who had been engaged two months before by the partisans of Pietro Bey to set out for London, and there to thwart the negotiations of the deputies Orlando and Luriotti; but he never went. He now wrote to Lord Byron, praying him to come into the Peloponnesus, to assist in bringing about an union of all parties. Thus, by an open and independent line of conduct, he inspired confidence among all the Greeks; and the moment appeared to be fast approaching, when all dissensions were to cease, and the foundations of a vigorous and national government, suited to the difficult circumstances of the country, were, through his mediation, to be finally established.

Lord Byron sent the following answer to Parucca*:

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* Of the Italian original I give a fac simile, in Lord Byron's hand-writing, in which those acquainted with my language will observe only one grammatical error, and that one of trifling importance.

Marzo 11. 1824

Illustrissimo Signore –

Ho l'onore di rispondere alla di Lei Lettera. –
Io non bramo altro – nè ho mai bramato – se non
a vedere [illegible] di tutto i Greci in pace fra
loro. – Io mi son reso qua per ordine dello
ito – a – ~~Greci~~ ito dal

" Sir, *March* 10, 1824.

" I have the honour of answering your letter. My first " wish has always been to bring the Greeks to agree " amongst themselves. I came here by the invitation of " the Greek government, and I do not think that I ought " to abandon Roumelia for the Peloponnesus until that " government shall desire it;—and the more so, as this " part is exposed in a greater degree to the enemy. " Nevertheless, if my presence can really be of any assistance " in uniting two or more parties, I am ready to go " any where, either as a mediator, or, if necessary, as a " hostage. In these affairs I have neither private views, " nor private dislike of any individual, but the sincere " wish of deserving the name of the friend of your country, " and of her patriots.

" I have the honour, &c."

March 11.—It was feared by some friends of the Greeks in the Ionian Islands that our newspapers might take a purely democratical and perhaps an antireligious turn; but the appearance of the first number of the *Telegrafo Greco* soon undeceived them. Lord Byron's view of the politics of Greece was, that this revolution had little or nothing in common with the great struggles with which Europe had been for thirty years distracted, and that it would be most improvident for the friends of Greece to mix up their cause with that of the other nations who had attempted to change their form of government, and by so doing to draw down the hatred and opposition of one of the two great parties that at present divide the civilized world. Lord Byron's wish was to lay it down for granted, that the contest was simply one between barbarism and civilization—between Christianity and Islamism—and that the struggle was in behalf of the descendants of those to whom we are indebted for the first principles of science, and the most perfect models of literature and of art. For such a cause, he hoped that all politicians of all parties, in every European state, might fairly be expected to unite.

We took a long ride, and considered of

a motto for the newspaper. Lord Byron proposed a verse from Homer—"The best "omen is to fight for one's country." And then chose another from the same poet—"When man falls into slavery, he loses the "half of every virtue." We afterwards conversed for some time on the affairs of the Greeks, and on the prospect of the future. "I hope," said he, "the moment of uniting "them is arrived. The chance of succour "and the approach of danger is a circum-"stance favourable to my design. I think "that their jealousy of strangers is dimi-"nished. The confidence I have always "shown in them, and the having their own "fellow-countrymen for guards, have not "been fruitless." He continued.—"The "Greeks will have great danger to encounter "this year; it appears that the Turks are "making great efforts. If the deputies had "set out three months sooner, we should

" have had three months more to prepare " ourselves; discord would have ceased, and " we should have overcome many other obstacles to our success. To be in time to " defend ourselves, we have only to put in " action and unite all the means the Greeks " possess,—with money we have experienced the facility of raising troops. In " the mean time, this interval should not " be neglected; and I will use my influence " to induce them to act on the offensive " during the winter.

" I cannot," he added, " calculate to what " a height Greece may rise. Hitherto it has " been a subject for the hymns and elegies " of fanatics and enthusiasts; but now it " will draw the attention of the politician.

" The different views and the jealousies " of the European powers are well calcu-

“ lated to favour the efforts of the Greeks; “ for they apparently will secure their neu- “ trality. This campaign, it seems, will “ lay the foundations of Grecian inde- “ pendence; and then a glorious field for “ improvement will naturally be opened “ before us. At present, there is but little “ difference in many respects between “ Greeks and Turks; nor could there be; “ but the latter must, in the common “ course of events, decline in power; and “ the former must as inevitably become “ better in every sense of the word. The “ soil is excellent; with skilful tillage and “ good seeds, we should soon see how “ rapidly, and in what perfection, the fruits “ of civilisation would rise around us. In “ the present state of European politics, “ there seems in the East a sort of vacuum, “ which it is advisable to supply, in order “ to counterbalance the preponderance of “ the North. The English government de-

" ceived itself at first in thinking it possible
" to maintain the Turkish empire in its integrity: but it cannot be done; that unwieldy mass is already putrefied, and must
" dissolve. If any thing like an equilibrium
" is to be upheld, Greece must be supported.
" Mr. Canning, I think, understands this,
" and intends to behave towards Greece as
" he does with respect to the South American colonies. This is all that is wanted;
" for in that case Greece may look towards
" England with the confidence of friendship, especially as she now appears to be
" no longer infected with the mania of
" adding to her colonies, and sees that her
" true interests are inseparably connected
" with the independence of those nations,
" who have shown themselves worthy of
" emancipation, and such is the case with
" Greece*."

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* This is the substance of what Lord Byron said to me on this day's ride, and he frequently repeated the

March 13.—All the shops were shut. A report of the plague was spread: a Greek merchant arrived from Gastuni, twelve days ago, was attacked the night before with violent vomitings, which killed him before morning. After death, several black pustules appeared on his face, arms, and back. When opened and examined with great care and precaution by the doctors, a large quantity of extravasated blood, and a cupful of watery humour, were found on the stomach, which were taken to be analysed. The doctors were divided between poison and the plague; but there was no suspicion of the former: it was known that he possessed 10,000 piastres in specie, and they were found in his house.

According to the doctors, no sign of poison appeared. A great mortality pre-

same remarks: how just, I will leave to others to determine.

vailed at Gastuni; but whether the plague or a fever was not known. The government had already sent for more precise information.

Every possible precaution was taken. Those who had any communication with the deceased were put into quarantine, and a commission of medical men was named to watch after any other symptoms of the plague.

The greatest alarm prevailed in the town: every one walked with a stick, to keep off the passengers. In a country so void of cleanliness, the plague would make dreadful progress.

Lord Byron sent off an express to Zante, to communicate our fears to the resident. If they were confirmed, we were to go into the mountains.

For many years the plague has not been known either here or in the Morea. Last year a similar report was spread by the agents of Colocotroni, for the purpose of dispersing the deputies then collected in a general assembly without his approbation. In less than two hours the town was empty.

March 14.—News arrived from Gastuni that the plague was not there, but the scarlet fever: no other symptoms had appeared to increase our fears.

The drilling of our company made great progress, and in three or four weeks we should have been ready to take the field. We exercised the troop in all sorts of movements: Lord Byron joined us, and practised with us at the sabre and foil: notwithstanding his lameness, he was very adroit.

I was employed by Lord Byron to confer with Lambro, the envoy of Colocotroni, who told me that his patron with his followers were the warmest and sincerest friends of Lord Byron, wished his Lordship to come into the Morea, and were willing to submit themselves to his judgment if he would go there. The envoy likewise explained to me upon what terms they would act with the new government at Cranidi, and what was of the utmost importance, that they would abide the judgment of a national assembly, adding, that if Lord Byron could not go himself, he might send a commissioner.

Ipsilanti was already gone to Cranidi, to settle an accommodation, but we did not expect any thing from his mediation.

My answer to the envoy was similar to that to Panucca. I insisted strongly on the necessity of an immediate submission to the legal government. I remarked that a national assembly was plausible enough, but would cause a loss of two or three months, and that the melancholy experience of past years proved that an armed assembly only inflamed the anger of parties, and drove them to sanguinary frays; that with them force would prevail over reason and justice; and that it would be impossible to convene at this time an unarmed assembly in Greece: that Lord Byron would make every exertion in bringing about a general amnesty, provided they were willing to obey the laws and their legitimate guardians. I concluded by saying, that as Colonel Stanhope was going into the Morea with the same view, it was not necessary for Lord Byron to send any one else. Lambro, in reply, assured my Lord that all parties confided in him, for it was known that he belonged to none.

March 15.—All suspicion of the plague had disappeared. The heavy rains began, and would not cease for a month; the principal cause, as we shall see, of the fatal catastrophe that ensued.

March 16, 17, 18.—Lord Byron could not go out all this time. In the house we practised with the sword and foil: letters came from the different chiefs and nobles of the Morea; all disposed to a general union through the mediation of Lord Byron. News came from London of the arrival of the deputies, and that there was every hope of a speedy conclusion of the loan; they arrived in time to defeat the plans of a certain Baron di Wintz.

On the 18th, at night, Mr. Humphreys arrived from Athens, with letters from Colonel Stanhope, Mr. Trelawny, and Ulysses. The descent of a large Turkish force by way of Larissa was feared. A meeting at Salona without delay was considered necessary to concert an union of the forces of Eastern and Western Greece, and a system of defence. Lord Byron and Mavrocordato were to set off in a few days for Salona.

The general government sent to know if Lord Byron would be willing to proceed in person to the seat of government; or if he would acccept the office of governor-general of Greece, that is, of the enfranchised part of the continent, excepting the Morea and the Islands. General Londo, his old friend, and another Greek, both well acquainted with the affairs of the country, would be appointed his counsellors.

March 20, 21.—We were employed in our usual occupations, writing letters and drilling our troops. The laboratory was preparing; a great part of the ammunition was ready. Lord Byron practised every evening with the singlestick or sword; he was very expert at the former.

He returned an answer to the government at Cranidi, that "he was first going to "Salona, and that afterwards he would be "at their commands; that he could have "no difficulty in accepting any office, pro-"vided he could persuade himself that any "real good could result from it."

The danger to which these provinces were exposed was a temptation to accept such a charge; but it was necessary to discover whether a command would not be merely nominal.

A public meeting was held in one of the principal churches of the town, for the election of magistrates, according to the Hellenic constitution. The people took great interest in it; but the strictest order was preserved. The most worthy citizens were elected. Thus, even in the midst of the confusion of such a struggle, were gradually strengthened the foundations of that system, which both theory and experience have approved as the most perfect, and the best adapted to combine the power and stability of states with the liberty and felicity of individuals; and which the peculiar situation of Greece seems to demand.

Messrs. Finlay and Humphreys set out with our answers, and the few barrels of powder we were able to send, to Ulysses. But Mr. Finlay returned at night, on account of an unfortunate accident, which he described in the following terms:

" Mr. Finlay and Captain Panai left this
" town for Athens, with the powder and
" other military stores, sent by Lord Byron

" to Odysseus for the war in Negropont, " in company with Messrs. Humphreys and " Kinderman. On arriving at the Phidari, " they found the river considerably swollen, " but succeeded in transporting the powder " safely. Mr. Humphreys, on a German " horse Mr. Finlay was conveying to Athens " for Mr. Trelawny, remained behind while " the other horses crossed: in crossing, he " unfortunately missed the ford. As the " horse was swimming over, the saddle-bags " were carried away, containing, besides the " most valuable part of Mr. Finlay's baggage and papers, the sum of seven hundred dollars, of which the greater part was " the property of Mr. Trelawny. In consequence of this accident, the powder was " forwarded to Athens under the charge " of Mr. Kinderman. Attempts have been " made to recover the saddle-bags; but, " from the rapidity of the stream, they have " not been attended with success."

March 22.—We had this day news, by way of Leghorn and Zante, of the conclusion of the loan—news of the utmost importance to the safety of Greece. The great object which Lord Byron had had in view, during the time he had been in Greece, was, as I have often repeated, to make preparations for the employment of the loan to the best advantage immediately on its arrival: internal organisation, and arrangements for offensive warfare, had occupied his attention during the whole of this anxious interval; and on the receipt of the intelligence, he advised Mavrocordato to send immediate information to the government, that no time might be lost in getting ready the fleets of the different islands.

He now added to the corps of artillerymen upwards of a hundred regular troops, for the protection of the cannon in the mountains. Lambro, Colocotroni's envoy, was taken into Lord Byron's service, and intrusted with the command of these troops. Not to speak of the policy of this measure, we thus acquired the services of an active and faithful officer. He was by the side of Bozzari when he so gloriously fell. He appeared a remarkably intelligent person, speaking Italian perfectly, French tolerably, and some English. He was once in the English service, under General Church, and knew the value of discipline.

We continued making every preparation in our laboratory for repairing the fortifications; and we found that, in three days, we might be able to set off for Salona.

March 23.—Prince Mavrocordato presented to Lord Byron the Signor Vlacopulo, minister of war, just come from the Morea, and the bearer of important intelligence.

March 24 to 26.—Nothing of consequence occurred. The weather was even worse than before. My Lord could not go out on horseback, and his health suffered. He told me that he had frequent oppressions on his chest. But notwithstanding this, Mavrocordato, and the greater part of the English then in Missolonghi, met every evening in his room, and diverted themselves with fencing and playing at singlestick, and other similar amusements.

March 27.—This day had been fixed for our departure for Salona; but the river Fidari was so swollen as not to be fordable; and, besides, the roads were impassable. We had letters confirming the completion of the loan, but as yet received nothing official on the subject.

March 28.—This day one of our artillerymen committed a theft, robbing a poor peasant in the market-place of twenty-five piastres. The peasant knew him again, and complained to an officer, who immediately arrested the culprit, and found the money hidden in his quarters. It was the first offence committed by any of our corps; and the delinquent was not a Greek, but from Ancona. A court-martial was held, and the trial proceeded according to the forms of the French military code adopted by the Greek legislature. He was convicted and condemned: there was no doubt as to his guilt; but a serious difference prevailed as to the punishment. The Germans were for the bastinade: but that was against the code, and flatly opposed by Lord

Byron, who declared that, as far as he was concerned, no barbarous usages, however adopted even by some civilised people, should be introduced into Greece; especially as such a mode of punishment would disgust rather than reform. We hit upon an expedient which favoured our military discipline; but it required not only all Lord Byron's eloquence, but his authority, to prevail upon our Germans to accede to it. The culprit had his uniform stripped off his back, in presence of his comrades, and was afterwards marched through the town with a label on his back, describing, both in Greek and Italian, the nature of his offence; after which he was given up to the regular police. This example of severity, tempered by a humane spirit, produced the best effect upon our soldiers, as well as upon the citizens of the town. But it was very near causing a most disagreeable circumstance; for, in the course of the evening, some very high words passed on the subject between three Englishmen, two of them officers of our brigade, in consequence of which cards were exchanged, and two duels were to have been fought the next morning. Lord Byron did not hear of this till late at night; but he immediately ordered me to arrest both parties, which I accordingly did; and, after some difficulty, prevailed on them to shake hands. It would have been an exceedingly bad example for the Greeks, if they had witnessed such a proceeding on the part of those who ought rather to have shown them the advantages of union than the ill effects of discord.

March 30.—One of our irregular soldiers was this day accused of a serious crime, committed before he entered into our service. After a minute investigation, the fact was proved, and the man was dismissed from the corps. This was another proof by which it was thought desirable to convince our friends, that we put the highest value upon good conduct and character, as being the best security for good discipline; and we flattered ourselves that we already beheld the good effects of our strictness in the daily improvement amongst our Greek auxiliaries, who, we felt persuaded, wanted nothing but regular pay in order to become a regular soldiery.

This day the primates of Missolonghi presented Lord Byron with the citizenship of their town. I subjoin a fac-simile of this document.

March 31.—This new honour did, however, but entail upon Lord Byron the necessity for greater sacrifices. The poverty of the government and of the town became daily more apparent. They could not furnish the soldiers' rations, nor pay their arrears; nor was there forthcoming a single farthing of the 1500 dollars which they had agreed to furnish for the fortifications. Thus the whole charge fell upon Lord Byron.

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Do.

[illegible]

CHAPTER VI.

Affray between one of Lord Byron's guard and a citizen of Missolonghi—Lord Byron's letter on that occasion —Conspiracy of Cariascachi—His troops enter Missolonghi—A body of Suliotes seize upon Basiladi—Lord Byron's journey to Salona prevented—A spy arrested in Lord Byron's house—Measures taken by Prince Mavrocordato—His proclamation at Anatolico —His letter to Lord Byron—Lord Byron's last illness —His death—The funeral service over his remains—Disastrous consequences of the death of Lord Byron —The transfer of the remains to Zante, and thence to England.

The weather continued to be more rainy than ever. Lord Byron could not take his usual rides, and his health was affected by want of air and exercise. He was at this time exposed to another annoyance.

On the night of the 31st of March, nearly at twelve o'clock, a Greek came to him, with tears in his eyes, complaining of one of his German guards, who, he said, had returned to his quarters intoxicated; had broken open the door, had drawn his sword, and had alarmed his whole family so much, as to make it necessary for him to have recourse to Lord Byron for immediate protection. Lord Byron, persuaded how necessary it was to show the Greeks that their foreign auxiliaries would be guilty of no outrage towards them, instantly despatched one of his officers, with a file of soldiers, to arrest the delinquent, and carry him to the artillery barracks. He was a Russian, who had arrived only lately, and had been very urgent to procure his admission into our brigade. When arrested and taken to the barracks, he asserted that the Greek had told what was untrue. He said that he had broken open the door because he had been assigned those quarters, and had lodged there several days; and the man would not let him in, but kept him outside, exposed to violent rain. He complained of the time and manner of his arrest; and at once sent a long representation to Lord Byron, accusing the adjutant who arrested him. My Lord immediately answered him in the following terms.

"April 1, 1824.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to reply to your letter of this "day. In consequence of an urgent, and, to all ap-"pearance, a well-founded complaint, made to me yester-"day evening, I gave orders to Mr. Hesketh to proceed "to your quarters with the soldiers of his guard, and to "remove you from your house to the Seraglio; because "the owner of your house declared himself and his family "to be in immediate danger from your conduct; and "added, that that was not the first time that you had "placed them in similar circumstances. Neither Mr. "Hesketh nor myself could imagine that you were in "bed, as we had been assured of the contrary; and "certainly such a situation was not contemplated. But "Mr. Hesketh had positive orders to conduct you from "your quarters to those of the artillery brigade; at the "same time being desired to use no violence; nor does

" it appear that any was had recourse to. This measure " was adopted because your landlord assured me, when " I proposed to put off the inquiry until the next day, " that he could not return to his house without a guard " for his protection, and that he had left his wife and " daughter, and family, in the greatest alarm; on that " account putting them under our immediate protection; " the case admitted of no delay. As I am not aware that " Mr. Hesketh exceeded his orders, I cannot take any " measures to punish him; but I have no objection to " examine minutely into his conduct. You ought to " recollect that entering into the auxiliary Greek corps, " now under my orders, at your own sole request and " positive desire, you incurred the obligation of obeying " the laws of the country, as well as those of the service.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" N. B."

April 1 and 2.—There was a rumour that a body of troops had sailed from the castle, and had disembarked at Chioneri, a village on the southern shore of Missolonghi. At first there was some alarm in the town; but it was soon known that, in fact, a launch, belonging to one of the brigs that was returning into the Gulf, had attempted to land her men in order to procure water, and had been driven off by some twenty peasants.

Mavrocordato presented to Lord Byron Signor Tricupi, arrived the day before from Zante. He was the son of one of the primates of Missolonghi, who had been educated by the means furnished by Lord Guildford, and was acquainted with the French, English, and Italian languages. He was a young man not only well-informed, but of a sound good sense, and a right judging patriotism; and had been selected as deputy to the general government to represent western Greece. This was the young man who afterwards pronounced the funeral oration of Lord Byron.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the third of April, many canoes arrived, containing about 150 soldiers belonging to

Cariascachi of Anatolico, who came to demand vengeance and justice for an injury inflicted the day before on a nephew of his by the people of Missolonghi. A great alarm spread itself over the whole city; all the shops were shut, and the bazaars deserted. Our brigade was ordered to hold itself in readiness to act at a moment's warning. The alarm still continuing, I wrote to Mavrocordato, to know if there was any ground for fearing that a serious affray would ensue. He replied, that he had taken every precaution, and that he hoped nothing would occur; but that it would be prudent to have our brigade in readiness, and not to suffer them to separate. Byron ordered his troops to continue under arms, but to preserve the strictest neutrality, without mixing in any quarrel, either by actions or words. Bodies of armed men, in the meanwhile, paraded the streets. It was now added, that 300

Suliotes were marching upon Missolonghi. The citizens posted themselves at the batteries, and resolved to resist their entrance.

As yet it appeared that this was only a private quarrel, which had originated in a blow that a nephew of Cariascachi had received the day before in a fray with a citizen of Missolonghi. But late in the evening, Praidi came to my Lord with a letter which Mavrocordato had received from Cranidi, and which instructed him respecting the intrigues of the late executive to destroy the present rulers, and particularly ruin Mavrocordato. This intelligence made us suspect that Cariascachi had been induced to undertake his present enterprise to favour the views of the factious in the Morea.

April 4.—This morning we received the news that a party of Suliotes had made themselves masters of Basiladi, and that some of Cariascachi's people had arrested two of the primates in the night, and had carried them secretly to Anatolico. The tumult and indignation which this intelligence produced throughout the city increased every moment. The Turkish fleet was observed sailing out of the Gulf; and it was at once suspected that this movement was in concert with the designs of the factious, especially as Basiladi was the key to the port of Missolonghi. Preparations were accordingly made for bringing some guns to bear upon the fortress, and all the batteries were manned by the troops of the town. The anxiety of the inhabitants seemed at its height; as for ourselves we kept constantly upon our guard. Lord Byron and myself rode out three miles from the town, as the weather was finer, and there was less appearance of rain than there had been for almost three months.

Unfortunately, however, the events of the last days made it necessary for us to delay our departure for Salona, as the absence of Lord Byron at such a juncture might have appeared like an abandonment of Missolonghi, and would, indeed, most probably have caused the ruin of that important place. But it is easy to judge how great our disappointment must have been, to give up our favourite project at a time when we appeared on the point of reaping the reward of all our labours and our protracted expectations.

April 5.—At the early part of the day, the soldiers of Cariascachi were still in Missolonghi; but about noon, the two primates, who had been carried off to Anatolico, returned home, and the mutineers evacuated both Missolonghi and Basiladi.

It was nine in the evening when Lord

Byron received the following letter from the governor of the town.

" My Lord,

" Constantine Volpiotti, who is now a guest in the " house of your landlord, is strongly suspected of high " treason. Not being willing to permit any of the town " guard to enter a house inhabited by you, I pray you " to order him under charge of your own guards to the " outward gate, where the police will be in readiness to " receive him. The Signor Praidi will inform you more " minutely of the business.

" Believe me,

" Your most devoted,

" A. MAVROCORDATO."

My Lord immediately consigned Volpiotti to the town guard. He was the father of our host's wife. As he came from Ioannina he had passed by Anatolico, and had had several conferences with Cariascachi: he had long been suspected of being a spy. The letters which were found upon him confirmed this suspicion. The same day the police arrested a secret agent of the insurgents in the Morea. One of our own officers, walking near the walls of the town, had also remarked a man on horseback gallop towards the place from the direction of Lepanto, and after measuring the depth of the town-moat, retire at full speed. The proper measures were taken for coming to the bottom of these machinations; and a military commission was named to examine minutely into the whole affair.

April 7.—The next day, the chieftains Longa, Stornari, Bozzari, and Macri, having heard of these traitorous designs, came in all haste to Anatolico, to which place also more than 2000 men had already marched, to uphold the regular government. But the arrival of these troops, however opportune, was the cause of fresh embarrassments; for there was a total want of provisions for their daily maintenance. In this emergency, the governor, the primates, and the chieftains, had recourse to the usual source of supply; but, as the expenses of our whole brigade, of the fortifications, of the laboratory, and indeed of so many other establishments, all fell upon the same shoulders, Lord Byron was obliged to refuse his assistance on this occasion. The consequence was that the government was constrained to sequester some magazines of flour belonging to certain Ionian merchants; a violent measure, it must be owned, which the necessity of the case could alone suggest. Mavrocordato, in this unhappy state of affairs, was overwhelmed with calumnies and even insults. Much has been said against this man; but my own opinion is, that his constancy, his patience, and his ability, will one day or the other be fully acknowledged, and secure for him those praises which have been withheld by the ignorance or the jealousy of his contemporaries. I am aware indeed that this hope is but a poor recompense for the regrets and disappointments which have embittered almost every moment of his career since he became a public man; and I own that his example will not add to the allurements of ambition. As Cariascachi was blockaded in his own house at Anatolico, and as all the primates and captains, and the whole population, were much incensed against him, Mavrocordato, fearing that some serious disturbances might ensue, betook himself in person to that town, and soon published the following proclamation.

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

"PROCLAMATION.

"Patriots!

"All of you feel that the safety of your country is the "first wish of every true Greek. The events of the last "few days have given rise to many suspicions against the "chieftain George Cariascachi. The political and mi"litary chiefs have invited him to exculpate himself, and "have named a commission to examine him, together "with all those suspected of treason against their country. All those who may have cognizance of any such "conspiracy are requested to present themselves to the "Archbishop, who will receive their informations previously to their being laid before the appointed judges. "Let them be restrained by no fear; let them remember "what is their duty, and that the salvation of their "country, and of every family in the state, requires this "at their hands. The whole nation exclaims against "treachery; and will know how to protect those good "patriots who shall come forward to declare the truth.

"A. MAVROCORDATO.

"N. Luriottis, Secretary.

"30 *March*, (O. S.)
1824."

April 8.—The Prince transmitted this proclamation to Lord Byron with the following letter.

"My Lord,

"I set out yesterday, in spite of the bad weather, to "obviate the disagreeable consequences which might "ensue from the affair of Cariascachi; and I had the "satisfaction of arriving in time. The accompanying "proclamation will inform you of the turn which this "treason has taken. The examination will commence at "three o'clock this evening. I shall do every thing that

" is possible to prevent a disturbance. This is the reason " why I shall continue to remain here until to-morrow.

" A. MAVROCORDATO."

Judging it proper that the people should be fully informed of every occurrence, I drew up an account of the whole transaction, and published it in the Greek Telegraph *.

April 9. — Lord Byron had suffered visibly in his health during the last day or two: the events just mentioned, and the weather, had made him more than usually nervous and irritable: but he this morning received letters from Zante and from England which raised his spirits exceedingly. They brought news of the probable conclusion of the loan, which was a great consolation indeed to us, in the midst of our

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* This affair ended by the exposure of Cariascachi, and by his flight into the mountains of Agrafa.

distresses; but what comforted him personally was some favourable intelligence respecting his daughter and his sister. He learnt that the latter had been seriously indisposed at the very time of his fit, but had entirely recovered her health. He was delighted at this news; but he remarked the coincidence as something singular. He was perhaps, on the whole, rather given to attach importance to such accidents; at least, he noted them as out of the common course of nature.

He had not been on horseback for three or four days; and though the weather was threatening, he resolved to ride. Three miles from the town we were overtaken by a heavy rain, and we returned to the town walls wet through, and in a violent perspiration. I have before mentioned that it was our practice to dismount at the walls, and return to our house in a boat. This day, however, I entreated him to go back on horseback the whole way, as it would be very dangerous, warm as he was, to remain exposed to the rain in a boat for half an hour. But he would not listen to me, and said, "I should make a pretty soldier, in-"deed, if I were to care for such a trifle." Accordingly, we dismounted, and got into the boat as usual.

Two hours after his return home, he was seized with a shuddering: he complained of fever and rheumatic pains. At eight in the evening I entered his room; he was lying on a sofa, restless and melancholy. He said to me, "I suffer a great deal of "pain; I do not care for death; but these "agonies I cannot bear." The medical men proposed bleeding, but he refused, observing, "Have you no other remedy "than bleeding?—there are many more "die of the lancet than the lance." Some of the physicians answered, that it was not absolutely necessary to bleed as yet, and I fear were too much inclined to flatter his prejudice against that operation. But there was not then the slightest suspicion of any danger, nor was there any at that moment.

April 10.—The next day he felt himself perpetually shuddering; but he got up at his usual hour, and transacted business; but he did not go from home.

April 11.—He resolved to ride out this day an hour before his usual time, fearing that, if he waited later, the rain would prevent him altogether. We rode for a long time in the olive woods, and Lambro, a Suliote officer attached to our brigade, accompanied by a numerous suite, attended him. Byron spoke much, and appeared in good spirits.

April 12.—The next day he kept his bed with an attack of rheumatic fever. It was thought that his saddle had been wet; but it is more probable that he was only suffering from the previous exposure to the rain, which perhaps affected him the more readily on account of his over-abstemious mode of life.

April 13.—He rose from his bed the next day, but did not go out of the house. The fever appeared to be diminished; but the pains in his bones and head still continued: he was melancholy and very irritable. He had not been able to sleep since his attack, and he could take no other nourishment than a little broth, and a spoonful or two of arrow-root.

April 14.—The following day he got out of bed at twelve: he was calmer; the fever was less, apparently, but he was very weak, and suffered from the pains in his head. He wished however, notwithstanding the weather was threatening, to go out on horseback, or at least in a boat; but his physicians dissuaded him. It was now thought that his malady was got under, and that in a few days he would be quite recovered. There was no suspicion of danger, and he told us he was rather glad of his fever, as it might cure him of his tendency to epilepsy. He received many letters, and he told me what answer I was to give to them*.

April 15.—The fever was still upon him; but the pains in his head and his bones were gone. He was easier—he even wished to ride out; but the weather would not permit. He transacted business, and received many letters, particularly one on the part of the Turkish governor, to whom he had sent the prisoners he had set at liberty. The Turk thanked him, and asked for a repetition of this favour. The letter pleased him much. It appears, however, from the account of his English valet, Mr. William Fletcher, that both on this day and the day before he had entertained some suspicions that his complaint was of no ordinary nature, and that his physicians did not understand it; but he had not the least apprehension of danger.

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* I think it was on this day that, as I was sitting near him on his sofa, he said to me, "I was afraid I was "losing my memory, and, in order to try, I attempted to "repeat some Latin verses with the English translation, "which I have not endeavoured to recollect since I was at "school. I remembered them all except the last word "of one of the hexameters."

April 16.—It happened unfortunately that I was myself confined to my bed this day by a sprained ankle, and could not see my Lord; but they told me that he was better; that his complaint was following the usual course, and that there was no fear. He himself wrote an answer to the Turkish governor, and sent it to me to be translated into Greek; but in the evening he became worse.

April 17.—The next day I contrived to get to his room. His countenance at once awakened the most dreadful suspicions: he was very calm; he talked to me in the kindest manner about my accident, but in a hollow, sepulchral tone. "Take care of "your foot," said he; "I know by expe-"rience how painful it must be." I could not stay near his bed: a flood of tears rushed into my eyes, and I was obliged to withdraw.

This was the first day that the medical men seemed to entertain serious apprehensions of the event. He was bled twice, first in the morning, and at two in the afternoon, and lost about two pounds of blood. He did not faint, and his eyes were lively, but he had no sleep; he perspired on the head and neck; and the disease seemed attacking the head. I now for the first time heard some mention of Dr. Thomas, and of the necessity of sending for him from Zante. But Mr. Fletcher said that he had proposed this two or three days previously, but that my Lord refused. For my own part, I do not think that there was any suspicion of danger until the seventeenth—at least, I heard nothing of it; on the contrary, he was thought better on the day before. He was dreadfully distressed by want of sleep, and he now said to Doctor Millingen, "I "know that, without sleep, a man must "die or go mad: I would sooner die a "thousand times." He repeated this to his valet, Mr. Fletcher.

April 18.—During the night of the seventeenth he had some attacks of delirium, in which he talked of fighting; but neither that night nor the next morning was he aware of his peril. This morning his physicians were alarmed by appearances of inflammation of the brain, and proposed another bleeding, to which Lord Byron consented, but soon ordered the vein to be closed. At twelve o'clock I came to his bedside. He asked me if there were any letters come for him. There was one from the Archbishop Ignatius to him, which told him that the Sultan had proclaimed him, in full divan, an enemy of the Porte. I thought it best not to let him know of the arrival of this letter. A few hours afterwards other letters arrived from England, from his most intimate friends, full of good news, and most consolatory in every way, particularly one from Mr. Hobhouse, and another from the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird; but he had then lost his senses—it was too late. But at the time first mentioned, Lord Byron, when I told him there were no letters, said, "I know there is one "from Luriottis to Mavrocordato." "It is "true," said I, "my Lord." "That is just "what I want to see," he replied. Accordingly in five minutes I returned with the letter. He opened it himself—it was written partly in French, partly in Greek. He read it into English from the French without hesitation, and attempted to translate the Greek. Fearing that it might fatigue him too much, I offered to get it translated. "No, no," he said, and at last made it out himself. This letter mentioned that the loan was concluded; that my Lord was to be the head of a commission for its disposal; and that part of the money would be immediately transmitted.

There was another part of the letter which displeased him, and he said, "I wish "Napier and Hobhouse were here—we "would soon settle this business." He could not at this moment (twelve o'clock of the 18th) have had the least presentiment of his danger.

It was Easter day; on which holiday, after twelve o'clock, the Greeks are accustomed to discharge their fire-arms and artillery. Fearing that the noise might be injurious to my Lord, we thought of marching our artillery brigade out of the city, and by exercising our guns, to attract the crowd from the vicinity of his house. At the same time, the town guard patroled the streets, and informing the people of the danger of their benefactor, invited them to make as little noise as possible near the place where he lay. Our scheme succeeded perfectly; but, nevertheless, we should not have been induced to quit the house if we had been aware of the real state of our friend. I do not think that he suspected it himself, even so late as three in the afternoon. At this time he rose, and went into the next room. He was able to walk across the chamber, leaning on his servant Tita. When seated, he told Tita to bring him a book, mentioning it by name. The servant brought it to him. About this time Dr. Bruno entreated him, with tears in his eyes, to be again bled. "No," he said: "if my "hour is come, I shall die whether I lose "my blood or keep it." After reading a few minutes, he found himself faint, and leaning upon his servant's arm, he tottered into the next room, and returned to bed.

At half past three, Dr. Bruno and Dr. Millingen, becoming more alarmed, wished to call in two other physicians, a Doctor Treiber, a German, and a Greek, named Luca Vaya, the most distinguished of his profession in the town, and physician to Mavrocordato. My Lord at first refused to see them; but being told that Mavrocordato advised it, he said, "Very well, let them "come; but let them look at me and say "nothing." They promised this, and were admitted. When about him, and feeling his pulse, one of them wished to speak— "Recollect your promise," he said, "and go "away."

At four o'clock, after this consultation of his physicians, he seemed to be aware of his approaching end. I think this was the exact time, and not before. Dr. Millingen, Fletcher, and Tita were round his bed. The two first could not contain their tears, and walked out of the room. Tita also wept, but he could not retire, as Byron had hold of his hand; but he turned away his face. Byron looked at him steadily, and said, half smiling, in Italian—"Oh "questa è una bella scena." He then seemed to reflect a moment, and exclaimed, "Call "Parry." Almost immediately afterwards a fit of delirium ensued, and he began to talk wildly, as if he were mounting a breach in an assault. He called out, half in English, half in Italian—"Forwards—forwards "—courage—follow my example—don't be "afraid," &c.

When he came to himself, Fletcher was with him: he had before desired him to send for Dr. Thomas. He then knew he was dying, and seemed very earnest in making his servant understand his wishes. He was anxious about his servants, and remarked that he was afraid they would be ill from sitting up so long in attendance upon him. He said, "I wish to do some-"thing for Tita and Luca." "My Lord," said Fletcher, "for God's sake never mind "that now, but talk of something of more "importance." But he returned to the same topic, and taking Fletcher by the hand continued, "You will be provided "for—and now hear my last wishes." Fletcher begged that he might bring pen and paper to take down his words, and at the same time expressed a hope that he might yet live. "No," replied Lord Byron, "there is no time—mind you execute my "orders. Go to my sister—tell her—go to "Lady Byron—you will see her, and say ——" Here his voice faltered, and gradually became indistinct; but still he continued muttering something in a very earnest manner for nearly twenty minutes, though in such a tone that only a few words could be distinguished. These were only names, "Augusta"—"Ada"—"Hobhouse"—"Kin-

"naird." He then said, "Now I have told "you all." "My Lord," replied Fletcher, "I have not understood a word your Lordship has been saying." Lord Byron looked most distressed at this, and said, "Not "understand me? What a pity—then it is "too late—all is over."—"I hope not," answered Fletcher; "but the Lord's will "be done." Byron continued, "Yes, not "mine." He then tried to utter a few words, of which none were intelligible except "my sister—my child."

Since their last consultation, the majority of the medical men had thought that the crisis of the disorder was now come; and that the principal danger now was the extreme weakness of the patient; and that restoratives should be administered. Dr. Bruno thought otherwise; but it was resolved to give a draught of claret and bark and opium, and to apply mustard blisters to the soles of the feet. Byron took the draught readily, but refused the blisters: accordingly, I was sent for to persuade him, and I returned in all haste with Mr. Parry. On my arrival they informed me that he was asleep, and that he had suffered the blisters to be applied not to his feet, but elsewhere. The physicians augured well of this sleep—perhaps it was but the effect of the medicine, and only hastened his death.

He awoke in half an hour. I wished to go to him—but I had not the heart. Mr. Parry went, and Byron knew him again, and squeezed his hand, and tried to express his last wishes. He mentioned names, as before, and also sums of money: he spoke sometimes in English, sometimes in Italian. From those about him, I collected that, either at this time, or in his former interval of reason, he could be understood to say—"Poor Greece!—poor town!—my poor "servants!" Also, "Why was I not "aware of this sooner?" and "My hour "is come!—I do not care for death—but "why did I not go home before I came "here?" At another time he said, "There "are things which make the world dear "to me [*Io lascio qualche cosa di caro nel* "*mondo*]: for the rest, I am content to "die." He spoke also of Greece, saying, "I have given her my time, my means, my "health—and now I give her my life!— "what could I do more?"

It was about six o'clock in the evening when he said, "I want to go to sleep now;" and immediately turning round, he fell into that slumber, from which, alas! he never awoke. From that moment he seemed incapable of sense or motion: but there were occasional symptoms of suffocation, and a rattling in the throat, which induced his servants now and then to raise his head.

Means were taken to rouse him from his lethargy, but in vain*. He continued in this state for four-and-twenty hours; and it was just a quarter past six o'clock on the next day, the 19th, that he was seen to open his eyes, and immediately shut them again. The physicians felt his pulse—he was gone!

In vain should I attempt to describe the deep, the distressing sorrow that overwhelmed us all. I will not speak of myself, but of those who loved him less, because they had seen him less. Not only Mavrocordato and his immediate circle, but the whole city and all its inhabitants were, as it seemed, stunned by this blow—it had been so sudden, so unexpected. His illness, indeed, had been known; and for the three last days none of us could walk in the streets without anxious inquiries from every one who met us, of "How is my Lord?" We did not mourn the loss of the great genius—no, nor that of the supporter of Greece—our first tears were for our father, our patron, our friend. He died in a strange land, and amongst strangers; but more loved, more sincerely wept, he could never have been, wherever he had breathed his last. Such was the attachment, mingled with a sort of reverence and enthusiasm, with which he inspired those around him, that there was not one of us who would not, for his sake, have willingly encountered any danger in the world. The Greeks of every class and every age, from Mavrocordato to the meanest citizen, sympathised with our sorrows. It was in vain that, when we met, we tried to keep up our spirits—our attempts at consolation always ended in mutual tears.

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* A great many leeches were applied to his temples, and the blood flowed copiously all night.

The proclamation issued by Prince Mavrocordato, on the day of Lord Byron's death, was not a formal, but a real tribute to his memory, and will, to the end of time, serve as a faithful record of his devotion for the great cause of Grecian independence*.

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* Provisional Government of Western Greece.
Art. 1185.

The present day of festivity and rejoicing has become one of sorrow and of mourning. The Lord Noel Byron departed this life at six o'clock in the afternoon, after an illness of ten days; his death being caused by an inflammatory fever. Such was the effect of his Lordship's illness on the public mind, that all classes had forgotten their usual recreations of Easter, even before the afflicting event was apprehended.

The loss of this illustrious individual is undoubtedly to be deplored by all Greece; but it must be more especially a subject of lamentation at Missolonghi, where his generosity has been so conspicuously displayed, and of which he had even become a citizen, with the further determination of participating in all the dangers of the war.

Every body is acquainted with the beneficent acts of his Lordship, and none can cease to hail his name as that of a real benefactor.

Until, therefore, the final determination of the national government be known, and by virtue of the powers with which it has been pleased to invest me, I hereby decree, As soon as we could recover sufficient spirits to do any thing, we sealed up the effects of the deceased with the government seal: a commission was appointed, at which the governor himself presided, to examine his papers, and to take the necessary measures. No will was found, and only a few

1st. To-morrow morning, at daylight, thirty-seven minute guns will be fired from the Grand Battery, being the number which corresponds with the age of the illustrious deceased.

2d. All the public offices, even the tribunals, are to remain closed for three successive days.

3d. All the shops, except those in which provisions or medicines are sold, will also be shut; and it is strictly enjoined that every species of public amusement, and other demonstrations of festivity at Easter, shall be suspended.

4th. A general mourning will be observed for twenty-one days.

5th. Prayers and a funeral service are to be offered up in all the churches.

(Signed) A. Mavrocordato.
George Praidis, Secretary.

Given at Missolonghi,
this 19th day of April, 1824.

manuscript writings, all of which, after an inventory had been made of them, were most scrupulously also put under seal, in order to be consigned to his executors. I sent off an express to Zante, with letters for Lord Sidney Osborne, his relation and friend; and with orders for the messenger to proceed by way of Ancona to England. It was resolved that the body should be embalmed; and, after the suitable funeral honours had been performed, should be embarked for Zante—thence to be conveyed to England.

Accordingly the medical men opened the body and embalmed it; and having enclosed the heart and brain and intestines in separate vessels, they placed it in a chest lined with tin, as we had no means of procuring a leaden coffin capable of holding the spirits necessary for its preservation on the voyage. Dr. Bruno drew up an account of the examination of the body; and a Swiss physician, Dr. Meyer, who was present, and had accidentally also seen Mad. de Staël after her death, mentioned to us that the formation of the brain in both these illustrious persons was extremely similar, but that Lord Byron had a much greater quantity *.

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* I have before me Dr. Bruno's report, of which I venture to give the following translation from the Westminster Review.

1. On opening the body of Lord Byron, the bones of the head were found extremely hard, exhibiting no appearance of suture, like the cranium of an octogenarian, so that the skull had the appearance of one uniform bone: there seemed to be no diploë, and the sinus frontalis was wanting.

2. The dura mater was so firmly attached to the internal parietes of the cranium, that the reiterated attempts of two strong men were insufficient to detach it, and the vessels of that membrane were completely injected with blood: it was united from point to point by membranous bridles to the *pia mater*.

3. Between the *pia mater* and the convolutions of the brain were found many globules of air, with exudation of lymph and numerous adhesions.

April 20.—At sunrise, on the morning after his death, seven-and-thirty minute

4. The great falx of the *dura mater* was firmly attached to both hemispheres by membranous bridles, and its vessels were tinged with blood.

5. On dividing the medullary substance of the brain, the exudation of blood from the minute vessels produced specks of a bright red colour. An extravasation of about two ounces of bloody serum was found beneath the frons varioli at the base of the hemispheres, and in the two superior or lateral ventricles a similar extravasation was discovered at the base of the *cerebellum*, and the usual effects of inflammation were discoverable throughout the *cerebrum*.

6. The medullary substance was in more than ordinary proportion to the corticle, and of the usual consistency. The *cerebrum* and the *cerebellum*, without the membranes, weighed 6 lbs. (" *mediche*.")

7. The channels or *sulci* of the blood-vessels on the internal surface of the cranium were more numerous than usual, but small.

8. The lungs were perfectly healthy, and of much more than ordinary volume (*gigantiselle*).

9. Between the pericardium and the heart there was about an ounce of lymph; and the heart itself was of greater size than usual, but its muscular substance was extremely flaccid.

guns were fired from the principal battery of the fortress; and one of the batteries of the corps under his orders also fired one gun every half hour for the succeeding four-and-twenty hours. We were soon ap-

10. The liver was much smaller than usual, as was also the gall-bladder, which contained air instead of bile. The intestines were of a deep bilious hue, and distended with air.

11. The kidneys were very large, but healthy, and the *vesica* relatively small.

And to the truth of this statement the undersigned have affixed their signatures.

Dr. FRANCESCO BRUNO, Domestic Physician and Surgeon of the Hon. Lord Byron.
JULIUS MILLINGEN, Staff-Surgeon to his Lordship's Corps.
HENRY TREIBER, M. D., and Surgeon-Major of Brigade in the Artillery Corps.
LUCAS VAYA, Physician and Surgeon of the Suliote Corps.

Given the 26-14 of April,
in Missolonghi, 1824.

I acknowledge the truth and authenticity of the above signatures, and in confirmation thereof, &c.

A. MAVROCORDATO.
S. PRAIDI, Secretary.

prised that the Turks at Patras, hearing our cannon, and learning the cause, testified their satisfaction, and insulted over our sorrows by discharges of musketry: this tribute alone was wanting to the memory of the benefactor of Greece;—but the barbarians may have occasion to lament the loss of the friend of humanity, and the protector of the oppressed.

April 21.—For the remainder of this day and the next, a silence, like that of the grave, prevailed over the whole city. We intended to have performed the funeral ceremony on the twenty-first, but the continued rain prevented us. The next day (22d), however, we acquitted ourselves of that sad duty, as far as our humble means would permit *. In the midst of his own brigade,

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* The following account of the funeral ceremony was inserted in the Greek Telegraph, No. 6.

"La sua spoglia mortale fu portata dalla casa dove of the troops of the government, and of the whole population, on the shoulders of the

giaceva alla chiesa di S. Nicola presso alle mura. La processione fù condotta, così, due fila di soldati della Guarnigione forse in numero di 1200 erano schierati lungo la via dalla casa del defunto fino alla Chiesa, portando le bocche dei fucili a terra. Precedeva il Vescovo con molti altri sacerdoti portando la Croce e salmeggiando.

" Seguiva una compagnia d'Infanteria Regolare comandata dal Cap. Lypton appartenente alla brigata ausiliaria che il nobile Lord stava organizando, e di cui egli era Colonello comandante. Veniva apresso il Principe A. Mavrocordato, presidente del corpo legislativo, governatore generale della Grecia occidentale, &c. accompagnato del Conte Pietro Gamba luogotenente colonello nella brigata del nobile Lord. Seguiva il feretro portato da quattro ufficiali della stessa brigata, i Sig. Hesketh, cap. luog. ajutante di campo del nobile Lord, Winter luogotenente, Rosner, cap. luog., ajutante del corpo, Basili luogo Drogmano generale; Questi erano cambiati da quattro ufficiali generali Greci; i Sig. Alexaki Vlakkopulo, ministro della guerra, Nota Bozzari, Zonga, &c. Sul feretro erano dipinti gli stemmi del nobile Lord; le sue armi ed il suo elmo con una corona d'alloro giacevano sopra. Veniva dietro il suo Cavallo coperto a lutto, e apresso la sua ordinanza col resto della sua famiglia in lutto. Intorno al feretro e di dietro seguivano i medici con tutti gli altri ufficiali civili e militari. Era chiuso il convoglio funebre dalla compagnia irregolare del capitano Lambro Zerva, Suliotto, e degli altri capitani ag-

officers of his corps, relieved occasionally by other Greeks, the most precious portion of his honoured remains were carried to the church, where lie the bodies of Marco Bozzari and of General Normann. There we laid them down: the coffin was a rude, ill-constructed chest of wood; a black mantle served for a pall; and over it we placed a helmet and a sword, and a crown of laurel. But no funeral pomp could have left the impression, nor spoken the feelings, of this simple ceremony. The wretchedness and desolation of the place itself; the wild and half civilised warriors around us; their

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giunti alla brigata. Arrivato alla Chiesa fù ricevuto solennemente dall' Archivescovo d'Arta, Sig. Porfirio Furono cantate le sacre preci. Ad intervalli furono sparate salve d'artiglieria e di moschettaria—sei cannoni della brigata erano schierati nella piazza vicina sotto il comando del capitano Steltzberg, che salutarono il convoglio con 25 colpi di cannone.

" La sacra funzione fu chiusa da un elogio funebre pronunziato del Signior Tricupi, che trasse abbondante la grime di riconocenza e di dolore di tutta l'udienza."

deep-felt, unaffected grief; the fond recollections; the disappointed hopes; the anxieties and sad presentiments which might be read on every countenance—all contributed to form a scene more moving, more truly affecting, than perhaps was ever before witnessed round the grave of a great man.

When the funeral service was over, we left the bier in the middle of the church, where it remained until the evening of the next day, and was guarded by a detachment of his own brigade. The church was crowded without cessation by those who came to honour and to regret the benefactor of Greece. In the evening of the 23d, the bier was privately carried back by his officers to his own house. The coffin was not closed till the 29th of the month. Immediately after his death, his countenance had an air of calmness, mingled with a severity, that seemed gradually to soften; for when I took a last look of him, the expression, at least to my eyes, was truly sublime.

April 24.—On this day answers arrived from Zante, and we learnt that just as our messenger reached that place with the fatal news, Dr. Thomas, and another of the first physicians of the island, were embarking for Missolonghi. Sir Frederick Stovin, the resident, had attended to all our wishes; he had forwarded the despatches for Corfu and England; and was providing several Ionian boats for the transport of the remains, and of Lord Byron's household and effects, to Zante. The same or the next day also arrived Mr. Trelawny, the friend of Byron, and who had accompanied him from Genoa to Greece. He was at Salona when my first message respecting his Lordship's illness had reached Colonel Stanhope. He set off immediately, hoping to arrive in time, but he was too late.

May 2.—We were some days occupied in the necessary preparations, and in waiting for the boats from the islands: at last they came; and on the morning of the 2d of May we embarked with the remains of our lamented friend, under a mournful salute from the guns of the fortress. How different from that which had welcomed the arrival of Byron only four months ago!

We were nearly three days on our passage, and it so happened that we were obliged, by contrary winds, to take that very course in our return in which we had risked such dangers on our voyage to Missolonghi; and we anchored one night near the same rocks where Lord Byron had sought shelter from the Turkish frigate.

May 4.—On the evening of the 4th of May we made the port of Zante, and heard that Lord Sidney Osborne had arrived, and not finding us in that island, had sailed for Missolonghi.

May 5.—On the next day we took up our quarters in the Lazaretto, and we found that, two days after the death of our friend, the brig Florida had arrived, having on board the first instalment of the loan, under charge of Captain Blaquiere, who was also the bearer of a commission from the Greek deputies in London and the contractors and managers of the loan, by which Lord Byron was appointed principal commissioner for the transfer and disposal of the monies so obtained.

Had Mr. Blaquiere found Lord Byron in life and health, what innumerable benefits would immediately have accrued to

Greece! With so much additional authority, and such an incalculable increase of his means, he would doubtless have realised many of those hopes, and accomplished those projects, which might have fixed the independence of Greece on solid foundations. The organisation, of which he had already formed a sort of nucleus, would have spread itself into all quarters of the confederacy, and have given energy and importance to the national government. A proper application of the new funds would have at once decided the fate of the fortresses of the Morea—of Lepanto, and probably of the Negroponte; and might have enabled the Greeks to assume the offensive not only by sea, but by land. The very appearance of the success which had crowned his efforts to obtain the all-important aid from England would, even of itself, have increased the confidence of the Greeks in their illustrious benefactor, and would have operated with decided influence on the ensuing campaign.

As it was, the death of Lord Byron was the signal of general alarm*, and of no less confusion; and had it not been for the exertions of Mavrocordato, the worst consequences might have ensued, not only in western Greece, but in every part of the country. The arrival of the money, from which so much had been expected, had been made unavailable; for the other commissioners did not think themselves at liberty to act without their principal. A Candiote Greek, who, at Lord Byron's recommendation, had nearly concluded a loan for 20,000 dollars at Zante, no sooner heard of his death than he found himself deprived of his credit, and was obliged to return. Nothing but the supineness of the enemy could have saved Greece from the most disastrous reverses. The Turks did make themselves masters of Ipsara, and would have gained much more important points, had not those merchants at Zante, with whom the first instalment of the loan had been deposited, magnanimously resolved to run every risk in order to do their duty by the borrowers of those supplies. The happy events which followed that generous measure are a sufficient proof of the beneficial effects which would have been produced by the immediate application of the money on its arrival, under the control of that man, whose name and whose exertions had added to the lustre even of the cause of Greece!

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* Those who wish to form some conception of the effect produced on the foreign auxiliaries by the death of Lord Byron may consult the admirable and touching letters of Mr. Trelawny, published in Colonel Stanhope's Account of Greece in 1823 and 1824. The details there given of Lord Byron's last illness and death are not quite correct; but where Mr. Trelawny comes to speak of the general impression produced by that lamentable event, he describes, and pathetically describes, what is recognised for truth by all those who were witnesses of the melancholy scene. "I think," says Mr. Trelawny, "Byron's name was the great means of getting the loan. "A Mr. Marshall, with £8000 per annum, was as far as "Corfu, and turned back on hearing of Lord Byron's "death." In another place he says, "His name was the "means, chiefly, of raising the loan in England. Thousands of people were flocking here: some had arrived "as far as Corfu, and hearing of his death, confessed "they came out to devote their fortunes not to the "Greeks, or from interest in the cause, but to the noble "poet; and the pilgrim of eternity having departed, "they turned back."

A few days after our arrival at Zante Colonel Stanhope came from the Morea: he had already written to inform us that the Greek chieftains of Athens had expressed their desire that Lord Byron should be buried in the Temple of Theseus. The citizens of Missolonghi had made a similar request for their town; and we thought it advisable to accede to their wishes so far as to leave with them, for interment, one of the vessels containing a portion of the honoured remains. As he had not himself expressed any wishes on the subject, we thought the most becoming course was to convey him to his native country. Accordingly, the ship that had brought us the specie was engaged for that purpose; Colonel Stanhope kindly took charge of her; and on the 25th of May, the Florida, having on board the remains of Lord Byron, set sail for England from the port of Zante.

NOTES

TO

THE NARRATIVE.

I.

Ignacius, Archbishop of Arta, has for some time resided at Pisa. When he first escaped from the persecutions of Ali Pacha, he took refuge in Russia, and is said to have enjoyed no small share of favour at the court of Alexander, from whom he was allowed a pension. Lord Byron, fearing to hurt him in the eyes of that court, abstained from communication with him whilst in Tuscany; but the same motive did not prevent him from accepting his letters of recommendation for Marco Bozzari and others in Greece. The Archbishop has always devoted a considerable portion of his income to the relief of his fellow countrymen; and the family of Bozzari, retired to Ancona, now subsists upon his bounty.

II.

We were in excellent health and spirits during our whole voyage from Italy to Greece; and for this we were partly indebted to our medical man, and partly to that temperance which was observed by every one on board, except at the beginning of the voyage by the captain of our vessel, who however ended by adopting our mode of life. I mention this to contradict an idle story told in a magazine (the London), that Lord Byron on this voyage "passed the "principal part of the day drinking with the captain of "the ship." Lord Byron, as we all did, passed his time chiefly in reading. He dined alone on deck; and sometimes in the evening he sat down with us to a glass or two, not more, of light Asti wine. He amused himself in jesting occasionally with the captain, whom he ended, however, by inspiring with a love of reading, such as we thought he had never felt before.

To give some idea of the silly stories that were told to the prejudice of Lord Byron, and which some of his biographers have shown every inclination to adopt for facts, I will mention, that our young physician confessed, that for the first fifteen days of our voyage he had lived in perpetual terror, having been informed that if he committed the slightest fault, Lord Byron would have him torn to pieces by his dogs, which he kept for that purpose; or would order his Tartar to dash his brains out. This Tartar was Baptista Falsieri the Venetian. In the same manner, the English inhabitants both civil and military of Cephalonia seemed surprised by the kind, affable, open, and humorous disposition of Lord Byron, having formed a preconception of him quite contrary to his real character. The writer in the magazine, who certainly never saw Lord Byron in his life, chooses to insert this fact, and to place the surprise and delight to the account of his Lordship, who, he says, "*was gratified to a most extravagant pitch.*" And at what?—merely because he was "in "good odour," the writer says, "with the authorities of "the Island." If his Lordship was "gratified to a most "extravagant pitch," he concealed his gratification from me, who was with him almost every hour in the day. Pleased he was at the attentions of the Cephalonian English, as it was his nature to be with the attentions of any persons who seemed to wish him well: the rest is fiction. Perhaps I may be pardoned for alluding to one or two other pretended facts introduced by the same writer, in order to finish the features of the portrait which he has given of Lord Byron. "It was dangerous," says that writer, "for his friends to rise in the world, if they valued "his friendship more than their own fame—he hated "them." This is very easily said, and is with equal difficulty disproved; because the controversialists of both sides may end in saying, "in my opinion, he did hate "them;" whilst the other can only reply, "in my opinion, "he did not." In proportion, however, as the charge is so easily made, and with such difficulty refuted, and as it is a most serious imputation, the writer ought to have some very good grounds for his assertion. I would therefore beg to ask him, which of his friends Lord Byron ever was known to *hate*, because or when "they rose "in the world?" Which of his friends, I further ask, was he ever known to *hate* at all? Those very few individuals who, I have always understood from his Lordship's own lips, were his friends, I never heard him talk of, except in terms of the most sincere attachment. My own opinion is just the contrary to that of the writer in the magazine. I think he prided himself on the successes of his friends, and cited them as a proof of discernment in the choice of some of his companions. This I know, that of envy he had not the least spark in his whole disposition: he had strong antipathies, certainly, to one or two individuals; but I have always understood from those most likely to know, that he never broke with any of the friends of his youth, and that his earliest attachments were also his last.

Again, in order to prove the difficulty of living with Lord Byron, it is said, that "When Mr. Hobhouse and "he travelled in Greece together, they were generally a "mile asunder." I have the best authority for saying, that this is not the fact: that two young men, who were continually together and slept in the same room for many months, should not always have ridden side by side on their journey is very likely; but when Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse travelled in Greece, it would have been as little safe as comfortable to be "generally a mile asunder;" and the truth is, they were generally very near each other.

The writer wishing to show how attentive Lord Byron was to his own person says, "And in these exercises so "careful was he of his hands (one of those little vanities "which beset men), that he wore gloves even in swimming!" This is certainly not true; and I should say, on the contrary, that he wore gloves (if it be worth while to mention such a circumstance) rather less than most men: I have known him ride without them.

I could contradict other assertions of the magazine writer, which though trifling in themselves have served as a foundation for his "personal character of Lord Byron;" but I feel reluctant to enter upon a task, which will doubtless one day or the other be better performed by some fellow-countryman of my illustrious friend. Indeed, I should not have said as much as I have, had I not been informed that the article to which I allude has made some impression upon the English public, having on the first appearance an air of candour and impartiality, as well as of being written after an intimate acquaintance with the great original: whereas, though there is some truth in his statements, it is certain that neither the writer nor his informants were fair judges of the person intended to be portrayed.

III.

Marco Bozzari had undertaken to arrest the march of the Pacha of Scutari, and of Omer Vrioni, who were crossing the mountains towards Anatolico. The enemy were between 15 and 20,000 strong: he had only a few hundred troops; notwithstanding this, he harassed them perpetually with the utmost skill and bravery. When he made his attack on the night on which he wrote to Lord Byron, he had but 300 Suliotes, and assembling them, he told them that he intended to penetrate into the enemy's camp, and would not be followed except by volunteers: all his men came forward. Bozzari was acquainted with the Turkish watch-word, and in the dead of night rushed into the camp, where for three hours he slaughtered the Turks, and spread confusion in all their quarters, until they began to suspect the small number of their assailants. More than 500 Turks of Scutari defended a large ditch, which crossed the camp. Marco was already wounded, and his friends wished him to retire; but he resolved to try another assault against this party. As he was kneeling on one knee to reload his musket, a ball struck him in the head, and he fell dead on the spot. His companions secured his remains, and carried them to Missolonghi.

I had this account from his brother and from Lambro Zerva, who were at his side when he fell.

When Lord Byron had made up his mind to dismiss the 40 Suliotes whom he had taken into his pay, I collected them in the house of Signor Corgialegno, and took that opportunity of reading to them the account of the victory and death of their countryman Bozzari; and never shall I forget the lively colours with which the alternate passions of grief and pride were painted on their rude and weather-worn countenances. They shed a torrent of tears; but immediately recovered themselves, and expressed an anxious desire to join the surviving companions of their deceased chieftain. The Suliotes have learnt by rote a few words, allusive to the present chance of national independence, and to the ancient glories of Greece; but their real feelings prompt them to reject the name of Greeks as synonymous with slaves, and to keep to that of their own tribe: never do they turn to the quarter where their own rocks are seen to rise into the clouds, never do they mention the name of Suli, without a tear or a sigh.

IV.

We passed our time at Metaxata in Cephalonia as I have described in the narrative, and seldom saw any one in the evening except Dr. Stravolemo, one of the most estimable men in the island, who lived in our village, and who had been first physician to Ali Pacha. He was an entertaining man, and afforded us no little amusement occasionally, by disputing on some medical question with Dr. Bruno. Lord Byron, who had generally three or four books lying before him, of which he read first one then the other, used to contrive, in a way that was exceedingly diverting, to foment those friendly contentions, which, however, never passed beyond the proper bounds. Lord Byron's favourite reading consisted of Greek history, of memoirs, and of romances. Never a day passed without his reading some pages of the Scotch novels. His admiration of Walter Scott, both as a writer and as a companion, was unbounded. Speaking of him to his English friends, he used to say, "You should know Scott; you "would like him so much; he is the most delightful man "in a room; no affectation, no nonsense; and, what I "like above all things, nothing of the author about him."

V.

I believe I have not noted in my narrative that when we were at Metaxata, one day after our ride—it was in October—Colonel Napier, the resident, arrived at full gallop, inquiring for Drs. Bruno and Stravolemo, and returned immediately with the same speed. We learnt that a party of peasants employed in road-making had imprudently excavated a high bank, which had fallen down and overwhelmed a dozen persons. Colonel Napier had arrived at this moment, and set off in search of assistance. Lord Byron despatched Bruno to the spot, and we followed as soon as our horses could be got ready. When we came to the place, we saw a most lamentable spectacle indeed. A crowd of women and children were assembled round the ruins, and filled the air with their cries. Three or four of the peasants who had been dug from under ground were carried before us half dead to the neighbouring cottages; and we found Mr. Hill, a friend of Lord Byron, and the superintendent of those works, in a state of the utmost consternation. Notwithstanding, however, an immense body of people continued flocking to the place, and it was thought that there were still some other workmen under the fallen earth, no one would make any further efforts. The Greeks stood looking on without moving, as if totally indifferent to the catastrophe, or despairing of doing any good. This enraged Lord Byron very much; he seized a spade himself, and began to work as hard as he could; but it was not until after being threatened with the horsewhip that the peasants would follow his example. Some shoes and hats were found; but the story told in the Westminster Review, of two men being discovered, is incorrect. Lord Byron never could be an idle spectator of any calamity. He was peculiarly alive to the distresses of others; and was perhaps a little too easily imposed upon by every tale of woe, however clumsily contrived. The slightest appearance of injustice or cruelty, not only to his own species, but to animals, roused his indignation, and commanded his interference, without the least calculation as to personal consequences.

VI.

I have mentioned in my narrative the reasons that induced Lord Byron to proceed to Missolonghi; and in order to give an idea of the impatience with which he was expected there, I subjoin extracts from two letters from that place, one from Mavrocordato, the other from Colonel Stanhope.

"De Missolonghi, ce 29 Decemb. 1823.

"C'est avec le plus grand chagrin que j'ai vu de retour "le bâtiment que j'ai cru devoir mettre à votre disposi-"tion........ Je prends donc le parti de faire une "double expedition aujourd'hui d'une barque Ionienne, "qui portera mes lettres dans le port, et du bâtiment de "l'ammiral Bottazi, qui restera à la voile sous Metaxata "pour vous attendre à son bord.

"Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire, mi Lord, combien il "me tard de vous voir arriver; à quel point votre pre-"sence est desirée de tout le mondè, et quelle direction "avantageuse elle donnera à toutes les affaires. Vos con-"seils seront écoutes comme des oracles; et nous ne "perdront par le tems lè plus précieux de nos operations "contre l'ennemi."

"Missolonghi, December 28th, 1823.

"The Greek ship sent for your Lordship has returned; "your arrival was anticipated, and the disappointment has "been great indeed. The Prince is in a state of anxiety, "the admiral looks gloomy, and the sailors grumble aloud. "It is right and necessary to tell you that a great deal is ex-"pected from you, both in the way of counsel and money.

"In the first place, your loan is much wanted; and if "the money arrive not speedily, I expect the remaining "five ships (the others are off), will soon make sail for "Spezia. I therefore think that a large portion of the

"loan should be immediately placed at the disposal of
"Mavrocordato.

"With respect to your coming here, all are eager to
"see you: they calculate moreover on your aiding them
"with resources for their expedition against Lepanto:
"they think you will take 1000 or 1500 Suliotes into
"your pay for two or three months.

"This town is swarming with soldiers, and the government has neither quarters nor provisions for them.

"I walked along the street this evening, and the people
"asked me after Lord Byron!!!

"L. S."

"Miss. 29 Dec.

"Prince Mavrocordato and the admiral are in a state
"of extreme perplexity: they, it seems, relied on your
"loan for the payment of the fleet; that loan not having
"been received, the sailors will depart immediately. This
"will be a fatal event indeed, as it will place Missolonghi
"in a state of blockade; and will prevent the Greek
"troops from acting against the fortresses of Nepacto and
"Patras.

"Under these circumstances, I hope your Lordship
"will proceed hither. You are expected with feverish
"anxiety. Your further delay in coming will be attended
"with serious consequences.

"L. S."

Lord Byron also received invitations from the Suliote chieftains at Anatolico, one of whom, Draco, was in correspondence with him; and he had also at Cephalonia several conferences with Nota Bozzari, the uncle of Marco, who promised him to use all his influence in settling the differences amongst his fellow-countrymen. Nota had a right to be heard by them; for he had made the most generous sacrifices in behalf of his country, and had been the peculiar object of the hatred of Ali Pacha; so much so, that the tyrant had used every means to procure his assassination. At that time a certain Suliote, with all his family, were imprisoned in the dungeons of Ioannina. Ali offered him and his children their liberty if he would repair to Corfu and kill Bozzari. The man, to save his family, accepted the offer. He went to Corfu; but he missed his aim; and instead of Nota himself, he killed the son of Bozzari, a promising youth of twenty years of age.

VII.

I will venture to add some further particulars respecting my capture by the Turkish frigate. When the Turks halloaed to us to keep near their ship, they were all on the deck, looking at us attentively. I continued looking at them through my spy-glass, on which they called out to me, that if I continued doing so any longer, they would fire, and sink us: so great was their alarm, but that of our sailors was, of course, much more serious; and (though all our servants and household kept up their spirits, and behaved courageously) they gave themselves over for lost, and wept bitterly.

It was fortunate for us that we fell into the hands of a generous enemy. The captain, Zachiria Bey, was descended from a rich Candiote family, and he spoke Greek more familiarly than Turkish. He had lost all his fortune in the present revolution; but he spoke of it to me with perfect calmness and indifference, only saying, as he looked up to heaven, " It was written that it should be " so." He was the captain of the Captain Pacha's ship that was burnt at Scio, and had saved himself by swimming. No wonder, then, that he imagined he saw a fireship in every Greek boat. He had with him two Greek boys, taken at the massacre at Scio, and having made Mahometans of them, he treated them with great care and humanity, of which, however, he made a merit to me, saying, " Could I treat them better if they were my own " children?" The boys were, notwithstanding, eager to return to their countrymen and to their religion, and asked Spiro if he could contrive their escape?

At the table of Zachiria we did not drink wine, but punch, in a large cup that went round to all of us. We had neither forks nor spoons, except one old spoon which he brought out on my account, and which was so rusty that I could not use it. During supper a fellow sung a sort of psalm to us, in a hoarse nasal voice. He would have us breakfast and dine with him the next day, and seemed to take a liking to us; for he came to visit us when we lay off the castle of the Morea. On that occasion we took care to have some good punch and other liquors ready for him. He drank freely, saying, " My father " always recommended abstinence, but he lived in the " contrary way himself—I shall follow his example, and

" preach abstinence to others." His ship was a fine French-built vessel of fifty guns; his cabin was clean and commodious; but the quarters of his crew were like pigsties. He had about 500 on board; but when he left Constantinople, in the spring, he had 700, of whom 200 had died of disease. The duty of sailing the ship was left to about fifty Italians. The Turks never mounted aloft: they seemed to me to do nothing; except some dozen of them, who were driving about the rest of the crew with sticks and shouts, like so many oxen. They were six hours weighing anchor.

I had an opportunity of observing the soldiery, in the castle of the Morea, and found them much the same sort of troops as those in the frigate; as much indolence, ignorance, and want of discipline prevail amongst the one as the other. The fortifications of this castle, as well as of Lepanto and Patras, are so insignificant, and so ill-guarded, that 500 soldiers would take them by assault at any time. The best proof of the weakness of the Turkish force is known in the successes of the Greeks, without means, and embarrassed, as they are, by intestine discord. The Pacha (Yussuff) of the castles sent me a message by one of his principal counsellors, a grave and venerable old man, who held a long conversation with me on the Greek insurrection, and gave me his opinion of the various chiefs. He told me that Colocotroni and Nikita were good soldiers, but too ignorant to be much dreaded; and that, for his part, he was more afraid of the skill of Mavrocordato. To show me how he preferred ingenuity to brute force, he made use of this parable:—" If a " blockhead wants to destroy a man's house, he takes a

" pickaxe, and begins hammering at the walls: he has " scarcely begun, when the inmates rush out, and he has " hardly time to escape with his life: now, a clever fellow " who has the same project, observing that a torrent runs " at a little distance from the house, silently breaks down " the dam, and in a little time the house is overflowed and " carried away, and the inhabitants either are obliged " to fly for their lives, or are drowned."

Yussuff Pacha himself, though a good man, was not remarkable for his education or ingenuity. He one day sent to me, asking if I had a map of Greece. I lent him one of Turkey in Europe: after examining it attentively with his counsellors and secretaries, he returned it to me, with a request that I would send him another, in which he could find Prevesa and Roumelia. I need not mention that the former map contained all Roumelia.

Notwithstanding, however, the gratitude of Zachiria Bey to Spiro, and the civility of the Pacha to me, there were moments at which I felt by no means at ease. One day I found that a boat had arrived from Zante, and as my papers had been detained by the Pacha after the hour appointed on that morning for their delivery, I fancied myself discovered. Lord Byron had given his property up for lost; but he hoped nothing would happen to us. He wrote to the primates of Missolonghi, telling them that the greater part of the monies engaged for the Greeks was safe in his hands, and that as for the remainder, the loss should not fall on them, but himself. From the Scrofes Rocks, he also wrote to Colonel Stanhope as follows:

"Scrofer (or some such name), on board
"a Cephaloniote Mistico, December
"31, 1823.

"My dear Stanhope,

"We are just arrived here, that is, part of my people "and I, with some things, &c. and which it may be as "well not to specify in a letter (which has a risk of being "intercepted, perhaps); but Gamba, and my horses, "negro, steward, and the press, and all the committee "things, also some eight thousand dollars of mine [but "never mind, we have more left, do you understand?] "are taken by the Turkish frigates, and my party and "myself, in another boat, have had a narrow escape last "night [being close under their stern and hailed, but we "would not answer, and bore away], as well as this morning. Here we are, with sun and clearing weather, "within a pretty little port enough; but whether our "Turkish friends may not send in their boats and take "us out [for we have no arms except two carbines and "some pistols, and, I suspect, not more than four fighting "people on board] is another question, especially if we "remain long here, since we are blocked out of Missolonghi by the direct entrance. You had better send "my friend George Drake (Draco), and a body of Suliotes, to escort us by land or by the canals, with all "convenient speed. Gamba and our bombard are taken "into Patras, I suppose; and we must take a turn at the "Turks to get them out: but where the devil is the fleet "gone?—the Greek, I mean; leaving us to get in without the least intimation to take heed that the Moslems "were out again. Make my respects to Mavrocordato, "and say, that I am here at his disposal. I am un-

"easy at being here; not so much on my own account
"as on that of a Greek boy with me, for you know what
"his fate would be; and I would sooner cut him in pieces
"and myself too than have him taken out by those bar-
"barians. We are all very well.

"N. B.

"The bombard was twelve miles out when taken; at
"least, so it appeared to us (if taken she actually be, for
"it is not certain); and we had to escape from another
"vessel that stood right between us and the port."

Such was Lord Byron's style of writing under circumstances of considerable peril: there was indeed always a playfulness of mind observable in him on occasions when most other men are serious and thoughtful. This turn of mind, however, gave an air of openness and frankness to him which was irresistible, even with persons the most prepossessed against him. For example, Count Constantine Metaxa, ex-prefect of Missolonghi, being fearful that Lord Byron had a dislike to him and his friends, prepared on our arrival at that place to quit the town, and retire to Tripolitza. He resolved, however, to see Lord Byron: he came into the room with apprehension and suspicion strongly depicted on his countenance; but he retired delighted with his visit, and full of confidence and enthusiasm for his Lordship, who had entered at once into a frank avowal of his intentions, and in a few words had laid before the Count a summary of the reasons which had induced him to visit Greece, and of the projects which he hoped to execute: so that when the Count departed for Tripolitza, he went there as the friend and coadjutor of Lord Byron.

VIII.

I have spoken of Lord Byron's mode of living: I have before me an order which he gave his superintendent of the household for the daily expenses of his own table. It is this; and amounts to no more than one piastre.

	Paras.
Bread, a pound and a half . . .	15
Wine	7
Fish	15
Olives	3
	40

This was his dinner; his breakfast consisted of a single dish of tea, without milk or sugar. The place of his abode was as simple as his fare. Colonel Stanhope lived in the same house, and Lord Byron had two wretched rooms above him. In one of these he slept, in the other he received his guests; but this second apartment was at night turned into a dormitory for us.

IX.

When his friends in Zante and Cefalonia heard of his first fit, they invited Lord Byron most earnestly to retire, at least for a time, to one of the Ionian islands; but he had made up his mind on this subject, and he wrote thus to a gentleman of Zante.

" I am extremely obliged by your offer of your country
" house (as for all other kindnesses), in case my health
" should require my removal; but I cannot quit Greece

" while there is a chance of my being of (even *supposed*)
" utility: there is a stake worth millions such as I am,
" and while I can stand at all, I must stand by the cause.
" While I say this, I am aware of the difficulties, and dis-
" sensions, and defects, of the Greeks themselves; but
" allowances must be made for them by all reasonable
" people."

It was about the period at which this letter was written that Lord Byron had accepted the invitation from Ulysses to attend a congress at Salona, at which it was more than probable it would have been resolved, by the chieftains of Eastern and Western Greece, that his Lordship should have the general direction of affairs in the Western continent. Indeed it was not unfrequently rumoured, that in a short space of time the general government of the country would be placed in his hands. Considering the vast addition to his authority which the arrival of the monies from England would have insured to him, such a supposition is by no means chimerical. Of his visit to Salona Lord Byron wrote thus:

" In a few days P. Mavrocordato and myself, with a
" considerable escort, intend to proceed to Salona, at the
" request of Ulysses and the chiefs of Eastern Greece;
" and to take measures offensive and defensive for the
" ensuing campaign. Mavrocordato is almost recalled
" by the *new* government of the Morea (to take the lead,
" I rather think), and they have written to propose to
" me to go either to the Morea with him, or to take the
" general direction of affairs in this quarter with General
" Londos, and any other I may choose to form a council.
" Andrea Londos is my old friend and acquaintance,

"since we were lads in Greece together. It would be "difficult to give a positive answer till the Salona meeting is over; but I am willing to serve them in any "capacity they please; either commanding or commanded "—it is much the same to me, as long as I can be of any "presumed use to them. Excuse haste—it is late—and "I have been several hours on horseback, in a country "so miry after the rains, that every hundred yards brings "you to a brook or a ditch, of whose depth, width, colour, and contents, both my horses and their riders have "brought away many tokens."

X.

The following prospectus of the Greek Telegraph will show what were the principles on which Lord Byron and his friends wished the press to be conducted in Greece.

Prospectus.—Knowing the interest the christian people take in the affairs of Greece, some of those engaged in that sacred cause have resolved on publishing for their information a weekly journal, to be entitled The Greek Telegraph.

Written contributions to this newspaper will be accepted from men of all nations and parties. The articles will be published in the language in which they are forwarded to the editors.

The motto selected is the following passage of Homer:

> "When man becomes enslaved, Jove deprives him of half his virtues."

Already we have explained that we belong to no faction: we are however free men, and consider that publicity is the very soul of justice. It should prevail in the senate; in the courts of law; and above all, in giving vent to the unrestricted expression of the people's thoughts. "The liberty of the press," says Hume, "is attended "with so few inconveniences, that it may be claimed as "the common right of all mankind." We are nevertheless enemies to all licentiousness; and our attachment to a free press is founded on a conviction that it is the best means of promoting public virtue.

The general object of the projectors of this journal is to convey intelligence to the world of the events that are passing in Greece.

In cooperation with the Greek committees in London and elsewhere, they will endeavour to encourage throughout the world every effort towards the promotion of her freedom and the amelioration of her condition. We wish the Greeks to be all armed; their land forces and their navies efficient, and of a constitutional character; their tongues and their presses free—free as their own thoughts; their roads open, and posts established for circulation of their ideas on military, commercial, and political subjects. The people we hope to see in full enjoyment of religious liberty; their laws plain and comprehensive; and justice openly, speedily, and cheaply administered. We desire the Greeks to have possession of that which is dear to every heart—the lands of their ancestors; their country accessible to settlers, with all the capital and improvement they can bring into it; their hands stretched out in amity, and their ports wide open to all nations; and, finally, to behold their arms triumphant, and their christian charity extended to their enemies. These are the unanimous sentiments of all high-minded men.

The Greek Telegraph will be published every Saturday.

The subscription to it will be six dollars per annum.

Those who wish to have this newspaper will address themselves to the Editors of the Greek Telegraph, under cover to Segt. Doctor J. J. Mayer, at Missolonghi.

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Missolonghi, 16 (4) *Marzo,* 1824.

THE END.

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